DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 468 630 SO 034 191

AUTHOR	Miller, Vachel W.; Affolter, Friedrich W.
TITLE	Helping Children Outgrow War. SD Technical Paper.
INSTITUTION	Agency for International Development (IDCA), Washington, DC. Bureau for Africa.
REPORT NO	SD-116
PUB DATE	2002-06-00
NOTE	137p.; Produced by the Human Resources and Democracy Division. Made possible through the AFR/SD (Bureau for Africa/Office of Sustainable Development) Task Order to the Improving Educational Quality (IEQ) Project.
CONTRACT	HNE-1-00-97-00029-0
AVAILABLE FROM	Africa Bureau Information Center, 1331 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, Suite 1425, Washington, DC 20004-1703. E-mail: abic@cdie.org. For full text: http://www.usaid.gov/regions/afr/pubs. For full text: http://www.ginie.org/children.
PUB TYPE	Guides - Non-Classroom (055) -- Tests/Questionnaires (160)
EDRS PRICE	EDRS Price MF01/PC06 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	*Child Welfare; Childhood Needs; *Childrens Rights; *Cultural Context; Foreign Countries; Intervention; *War; *World Problems
IDENTIFIERS	Africa; Azerbaijan; Bosnia and Herzegovina; Kenya; Peace Education; Peru; Sri Lanka

ABSTRACT

Helping children outgrow war is an overarching goal of educational reconstruction in post-conflict settings, but responses must be highly adaptive and informed by insights gained from interventions elsewhere. This guidebook offers seven examples of successful interventions in post-conflict settings internationally, situating them within a framework that emphasizes the ecology of children's well-being and learning. To facilitate navigation of the guidebook, cases are organized according to post-conflict phases, including emergency, recovery, rehabilitation, and reconstruction. These phases indicate the stability of government and the health of civil society, important parameters for guiding programmatic choices. The cases illustrate many of the key dimensions of a comprehensive approach to helping children overcome violence and rebuild their lives. Following each case study is a discussion of critical theoretical issues and a set of questions regarding practical considerations for project design. While not intended to serve as a training manual per se, the guidebook contains elements that can be extracted for use in training workshops or policy discussions. Following the Teacher Emergency Packages (kits which enable teachers to begin instructional activities in a war-ravaged context), cases are as follows: (1) Child Soldiers (exploitation of child fighters in Africa); (2) Butterfly Garden (Batticaloa, Sri Lanka, has a garden dedicated to creative play for war-affected children); (3) Children's Participation (illustrates challenges of children's participation in a conflict setting in Sri Lanka); (4) Peace Education (insights from a project in a Kenyan refugee camp); (5) Project DiaCom (in Bosnia, the project allows Serb and Bosniak teachers to enter into a dialogue process); (6) Community Leadership (builds capacity for community in internally displaced people in Azerbaijan); and (7) Human Rights Training

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(in Peru, a human rights organization conducts workshops that bring together diverse participants to learn about their rights and share experiences). (BT)

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Friedrich W. Affolter

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HELPING CHILDREN OUTGROW WAR

TEACHER EMERGENCY PACKAGE

CHILD SOLDIERS

THE BUTTERFLY GARDEN

CHILDREN'S PARTICIPATION

PEACE EDUCATION

PROJECT DIACOM

COMMUNITY LEADERSHIP

HUMAN RIGHTS TRAINING

Technical Paper No. 116
Human Resources and Democracy Division
Office of Sustainable Development, Bureau for Africa
U.S. Agency for International Development

USAID

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Office of Sustainable Development, Bureau for Africa
U.S. Agency for International Development

SD Technical Paper No. 116

HELPING CHILDREN OUTGROW WAR

Prepared by
Vachel W. Miller
and Friedrich W. Affolter

June 2002

This publication was prepared under United States Agency for International Development (USAID), Improving Educational Quality Project (IEQ), Contract #HNE-1-00-97-00029-0, Task Order #2, Bureau for Africa/Office for Sustainable Development/Education. The prime contractor for IEQ is the American Institutes for Research. Publication and editorial services provided by the Africa Bureau Information Center (ABIC). ABIC is operated by the Academy for Educational Development under contract to USAID and is part of the Development Information Services project of USAID's Center for Development Information and Evaluation (CDIE).

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The number of countries in Africa where there is internal armed conflict has grown steadily over the past decade. Children are the most vulnerable population affected, they are the first victims of physical, social, and emotional violence, and of failed health systems. When access to education is severed, their potential to develop is stunted.

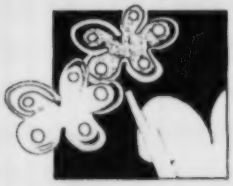
This document is a response to the growing need to address these issues from the Office of Sustainable Development of USAID's Africa Bureau (AFR/SD). It has grown out of the consultations and collective work of many of those within USAID and its partners who are on the forefront of this challenging terrain.

Within the Africa Bureau, in 2000 Talaat Moreau and Yolande Miller-Grandvaux initiated our work in this area with a background paper, *Countries in Crisis: Basic Education Issues* to guide thinking on appropriate responses to providing support for basic education in post-conflict settings. In the spring of 2001, the Center for International Education (CIE) at the University of Massachusetts Amherst, organized a graduate seminar that examined case materials from around the world and provided the genesis for the current work.[1] Vachel Miller and Fritz Affolter of CIE, in consultation with AFR/SD education advisor Ash Hartwell, developed the text and cases.

Our understanding of learning in post-conflict settings is based on the work of many others who have labored to build a comprehensive and accessible base of knowledge. A leader in this effort has been the Global Information Network in Education (GINIE). More recently, Emily Vargas-Baron formed the Institute for Reconstruction and International Security through Education (RISE) to support educational reconstruction efforts. As mentioned above, key documents that assess the status of the field include the work of Miller-Grandvaux and Moreau for USAID, as well as the 1999 study of education in complex emergencies by a group of the Education For All (EFA) Forum. Regarding the consequences of childhood trauma and approaches to healing, two primary resources are Judith Evans' paper (1996) on "Children as Zones of Peace" and Graca Machel's (2000) report on the impact of armed violence on children.

We are deeply indebted to the authors of the case material collected here, as well as to Ervin Staub for his inspiration and support. We have been assisted by many people during the preparation of this guidebook. We would like to thank Kent Ashworth, an independent consultant to the IEQ Project, for his encouragement and his creativity in suggesting the guidebook's title. Valuable insights and suggestions were provided by USAID; Anne Dykstra, Senior Education Advisor, Economic Growth, Agriculture, and Trade/Women in Development (EGAT/WID); and AFR/SD's Yolande Miller-Grandvaux, Talaat Moreau,

[1] The course was co-facilitated by Gretchen Rossman, Yvonne Shanahan, Fritz Affolter, and Vachel Miller. Special thanks to Gretchen Rossman and Yvonne Shanahan for identifying key resources and cases that contributed to the development of this guidebook.



Tracy Brunette, Diane Prouty, and Sheryl Pinnelli. Education Development Center's Cathy Lee and her design team, particularly Emily Passman and Ronnie DiComo, provided the artwork and formatting for the text and brochure. Maureen McClure, the guiding force behind the GINIE website, (www.ginie.org), enabled this text to be posted to that site. Christine Chumbler of the Africa Bureau Information Center provided editorial oversight and managed the printing and distribution of the document.

This publication, the accompanying brochure, and website text were made possible through the AFR/SD Task Order to the Improving Education Quality Project, and the supportive leadership of its director, Jane Schubert. Kay Freeman, the head of the AFR/SD basic education team, has championed the development of this guidebook as a reflection of a critical area in which USAID will increasingly play an important role.

GUIDEBOOK OVERVIEW

Helping children outgrow war is an overarching goal of educational reconstruction in post-conflict settings. Given the diversity and complexity of such settings, responses must be both highly adaptive and informed by insights gained from interventions elsewhere. This guidebook offers several examples of successful interventions in post-conflict settings internationally, situating them within a framework that emphasizes the ecology of children's well-being and learning.

Helping children outgrow war involves helping communities heal from violence and determine their own paths of development.

Helping children outgrow war involves helping communities heal from violence and determine their own paths of development. Successful interventions can enable teachers, parents, and community leaders to engage safely with traumatic events, to articulate their aspirations, and to build trust across multiple levels of society as the infrastructure of a culture of peace.

The challenge of post-conflict educational reconstruction, in this sense, is larger and more diffuse than rebuilding the shattered infrastructure of schooling. This guidebook is not intended to address the complex technical, financial, and political issues involved in rebuilding school systems. While it touches on those issues, it is concerned more broadly with creating conditions for constructive learning in the wake of social violence.

The insights gathered in these case studies crystallize in a series of interlocking challenges:

- Realizing opportunities for experimentation and change while satisfying the needs for stability, security, and the familiar
- Supplying learning resources without neglecting learners' own capacities for reflection and creation
- Giving away ownership of project development to children and communities
- Creating spaces for people divided by conflict to talk, play, and learn together
- Safeguarding patience with processes of personal healing and community reconstruction that do not operate according to institutional timelines

To facilitate navigation of the guidebook, the cases have been organized according to post-conflict phases, including emergency, recovery, rehabilitation, and reconstruction. These phases indicate the stability of government and the health of civil society, important parameters for guiding programmatic choices.

Taken together, the cases illustrate many of the key dimensions of a comprehensive approach to helping children overcome violence and rebuild their lives.

Taken together, the cases illustrate many of the key dimensions of a comprehensive approach to helping children overcome violence and rebuild their lives. Following each case study is a discussion of critical theoretical issues and a set of questions regarding practical considerations for project design in the reader's target context. While not intended to serve as a training manual per se, this guidebook contains several elements that could be readily extracted for use in training workshops or policy discussions.

Thumbnail sketches of the cases follow:

- **Teacher Emergency Packages.** These kits, also known as "school in a box," provide recreational equipment and basic materials to enable teachers to begin instructional activities in a war-ravaged context. They are an initial step toward educational reconstruction.

- **Child Soldiers.** The exploitation of children as participants in violent conflict can result in deep psychological wounds and alienation from home communities. In Africa, demobilization projects attempt to help former child soldiers return to their communities and begin their lives anew.

- **The Butterfly Garden.** In the city of Batticaloa, Sri Lanka, there is a garden dedicated to creative play for war-affected children. The Butterfly Garden nurtures healing through creative expression and trusting relationships with mentors.

- **Children's Participation.** Involving children in local research and project implementation activities is a powerful vehicle for learning. A case study from Sri Lanka illustrates the challenges of children's participation in a conflict setting.

- **Peace Education.** Insights from a peace education project in a Kenyan refugee camp show how community participation can be blended with educational change to build the basis for attitudes and behaviors oriented toward peace.

- **Project DiaCom.** In Bosnia, Serb and Bosniak teachers from ethnically divided cities meet through Project DiaCom to enter into the process of dialogue. Learning to talk with one another again is the beginning of a long road to reconciliation—and ultimately, to the creation of inclusive schools.

- **Community Leadership.** Relief efforts have shifted toward building capacity for community development among internally displaced people (IDPs) in Azerbaijan. Reflections on a community mobilization project indicate the opportunities and difficulties involved in working with IDP communities.

- **Human Rights Training.** In Peru, a human rights organization conducts workshops that bring diverse participants together to learn about their rights and share their experiences with one another. The training has greatly improved participants' ability to advocate for their rights, share their learning with others, and help prevent violence in their immediate environments.

Post-conflict educational reconstruction is a demanding field. While offering principles for program design, this guidebook is also intended to provide inspiration for the work, illustrating the depth of human resilience and the real possibility of rebuilding relationships in the aftermath of violent social conflict.

These cases are small chapters in a much larger story. Gathered here are just a few of the many ways that communities learn to hope and children learn to outgrow war.

INTRODUCTION

Violent conflict has become tragically common in recent years. Some 4 million people have been killed in armed violence worldwide since 1989 and more than 35 million people have been displaced by conflict, about half of whom are children. Recent conflicts are characterized by deliberate acts of terror against civilian populations and the devastation of social institutions. In the face of such upheaval, education has a crucial role in promoting security and stability. Educational reconstruction, when undertaken with care and creativity, can support children's capacity for resilience and provide the kind of learning opportunities that lead to a more peaceful future.

The U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) is exploring post-conflict education as an emerging area of action. In this guidebook, we have gathered cases, resources, and concepts that can be useful for the planning of educational interventions in post-conflict and crisis settings. Our choices of cases are intended to affirm the goals of education in crisis periods noted by Miller-Grandvaux and Moreau: to protect, heal, and prevent future crises (2000).

This guidebook includes issues related to the reconstruction of formal educational systems, while attending more broadly to the rehabilitation of the psycho-social conditions supportive of community well-being and children's learning. This approach positions education as a key element within a larger agenda of helping children outgrow war. And we believe that helping children outgrow war involves helping communities heal from violence and determine their own paths of development.

This guidebook includes issues related to the reconstruction of formal educational systems, while attending more broadly to the rehabilitation of the psycho-social conditions supportive of community well-being and children's learning.

There are few areas of international education as compelling and challenging as post-conflict reconstruction. Program designers and practitioners must balance multiple demands: technocratic concern for system rehabilitation, humanitarian concern for healing the wounds of violence, political concern for effective civil institutions, and social concern for renewing trust and cohesion as a pillar of peace. All of these interests are important and, to a large degree, interrelated. While this guidebook cannot address all of these concerns directly, it offers principles and questions that can inform the integration of these issues for effective project design.

As is evident from the research Miller-Grandvaux and Moreau have conducted for USAID as well as the recent Education for All (EFA) thematic study on education in crisis situations (EFA Forum, 1999), there are multiple approaches to post-conflict education. Yet there is relatively little evaluative and reflective material available about educational interventions in many post-conflict contexts. Clearly, the research and practice base for the field is still maturing, and the material gathered here should be supplemented with additional case studies and practice-based insights.

Guidebook Content

This guidebook begins with a brief discussion of a framework that can assist project designers in analyzing and constructing interventions in post-conflict settings. The framework, based on the work of psychologist and genocide scholar Ervin Staub (1989), focuses on the fundamental emotional needs of individuals and communities and enables development planners and practitioners to explore how interventions affect socio-emotional well-being and conditions for constructive learning.[1]

The main section of this book contains a series of cases covering such themes as rapid educational response packages, demobilization of child soldiers, children's participation in project implementation, healing from trauma, community mobilization, and peace education.

Effective responses to post-conflict settings are highly attuned to local histories and conditions, including the duration of the conflict, the actors involved, the intensity of the violence, and the fragility of the peace.

To augment the cases, we introduce critical concepts related to the projects and highlight principles that may be useful for informing planning and practice. Following the discussion, we include questions about the potential application of particular aspects of the cases to the reader's context. These questions are not intended as quick guidelines for program design in terms of staffing, facilities, or curriculum.[2] Rather, they are intended to open dialogue and innovative thinking—in partnership with communities, families, and children—about important design choices and their impact on children's learning and well-being.

Each post-conflict situation is unique. Effective responses to post-conflict settings are highly attuned to local histories and conditions, including the duration of the conflict, the actors involved, the intensity of the violence, and the fragility of the peace. By emphasizing case studies, we hope to avoid a linear, prescriptive approach and instead to honor the challenge of creatively adapting interventions that have been effective in one setting for other contexts.

Any intervention in a crisis or post-conflict setting must contend with severe constraints. Because intensive political and economic pressures may come from multiple angles, program designers should proceed cautiously, carefully considering how the welfare of children can be a focal point for dialogue among all stakeholders.

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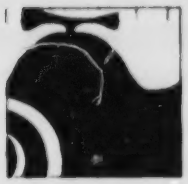
[1] The role of fundamental emotional needs and concern for psycho-social well-being in development discourse is the subject of recent analysis by Affolter (2002).

[2] This guidebook does not address a number of important choices that often arise in post-conflict educational reconstruction regarding language of instruction, home or host country curriculum, financing, and teacher training. Guidance on specific issues, based on the field experience of leading organizations such as UNESCO and UNHCR, is collected in *Rapid Educational Response in Complex Emergencies* (Aguilar and Retamal, 1998) as well as *Education as a Humanitarian Response* (Retamal and Aedo-Richmond, 1998), which also includes a rich review of several country-specific experiences with refugee education and education in emergency situations. In addition, a review of educational responses in several recent refugee emergencies has been conducted by Sinclair (2001a).

This guidebook should be considered a work in progress. Undoubtedly, there are valuable case studies and concepts that we have not yet encountered or fully appreciated. The field of post-conflict educational reconstruction has expanded rapidly in recent years, and no one volume can respect the diversity and complexity of the issues involved. We hope this guidebook provides a useful window on the efforts of teachers, facilitators, community leaders, NGO workers, and families to help children outgrow war and, in the long run, to rebuild stable, equitable, and caring societies.



Orientation and Approach

Phases of Recovery

Efforts to reconstruct effective educational systems in post-conflict settings are nested within larger political, economic, and institutional contexts. In USAID's *Strategic Framework for Basic Education in Africa* (1998), key indicators for investment include the following:

- Scope of public analysis, dialogue, and review of the performance and needs of the education sector
- Stability of government and education-sector policymakers and their commitment to reform
- Quality of information and analysis available
- Range of stakeholders involved in policy review and evaluation
- Government's level of financial commitment to the sector and specifically to basic education
- Organizational competence and flexibility in financing and managing schools
- Level of collaboration and sharing among major donors (p. 36)

At root, these factors address both the institutional capacity for change and the degree of authentic partnership occurring between education officials and civil society actors.

While these factors may be useful for decisions under "normal" conditions, they take different form in post-conflict settings in which government institutions and civic capacity at all levels have been severely damaged. Most post-conflict settings are literally "off the chart" for investment decision-making, and alternative reference points are needed.

In the past, relief efforts have taken priority over educational reconstruction in crisis and post-conflict settings. Education has been regarded as a secondary concern that could wait until more immediate needs were addressed. That approach is now being challenged, and a new consensus has emerged that relief and humanitarian aid should contribute to

A new consensus has emerged that relief and humanitarian aid should contribute to the larger effort of development from the earliest stages.

the larger effort of development from the earliest stages (Aguilar and Retamal, 1998, Vargas-Baron and McClure, 1998). Education must be a top priority; waiting to begin educational interventions until conditions have stabilized may itself exacerbate instability (EFA Forum, 1999).

There are powerful linkages between education, peacebuilding, and security. Schooling can help reestablish social stability and facilitate the acquisition of basic competencies needed for economic recovery in the long term.

Schooling can help reestablish social stability and facilitate the acquisition of basic competencies needed for economic recovery in the long term.

Nevertheless, schooling alone is not adequate for the larger challenge of reducing the toxicity that violence creates within children's social environments. The complex challenge of educational reconstruction merits an ecological approach that acknowledges the connections between psychological well-being and learning. Such an approach, we believe, provides the basis for helping children outgrow war.

Most nations undergo several recognizable stages of recovery from conflict. To help organize our selection of cases, we have employed the framework suggested by Dykstra (personal communication, November 1, 2001), which involves the following phases: emergency, recovery, rehabilitation, and reconstruction.[3] With each successive phase, the stability and capacity of the government increases. In the emergency phase, basic social services have ceased functioning, and communities may require external assistance for survival. In the recovery and reconstruction phases, a provisional government resumes functioning, and social services, such as schooling, begin to return to "normal" operation.

These phases give a rough indication of the stability of government and the health of civil society. In this manner, they provide important parameters for guiding programmatic choices and gauging the capacity of partners to undertake reconstruction efforts. The farther a particular society has moved toward reconstruction, the greater the capacity that local and national actors will have for supporting education. The phases suggest a kind of scaffolding, with the role of external actors fading over time.

Transitional periods between phases involve choices that may be made by government officials or set in place by a broader peace process—rather than choices made by educators. These choices are likely to become solidified in later phases. For example, the choice of language of instruction for formal education may be made by groups organized to form a transitional government. Subsequently, it is rare for a central ministry to modify such a decision. Post-conflict transitions, even more than phases, indicate the shifting ground

[3] There are several typologies for classifying nations emerging from conflict. UNICEF, for example, uses the phases "loud, transition, and rehabilitation/reconstruction" (Evans, 1996). In their review, Miller-Grandvaux and Moreau (2000) employ a taxonomy that includes "pre-crisis" and "post-crisis" as phases. Such classifications of any particular situation can change over time; the phases might spiral around one another as reconstruction from one conflict becomes a prelude to another period of social upheaval.

of legitimacy and power, the roles and capacities of all actors involved in educational reconstruction are shaped by these shifts.[4]

The framework of post-conflict phases and transitions is very useful; however, it should be kept in mind that the life experiences of people in local communities may not fit cleanly into these categories. Actual circumstances in a country may exhibit characteristics of different phases, varying dramatically across regions and over time.

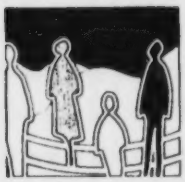
Indeed, the movement implied by linear phases is rarely linear or uniform within a country. Any clearly demarcated phase may be a brief interlude before a long, complex transition. In this sense, the categories only provide a general description, and need to be supplemented by more nuanced understanding of the particularities of a given situation.

As pointed out by Miller-Grandvaux and Moreau (2000), the umbrella term "post-conflict" is itself a profound simplification. Conflict has raged for years in some regions, with no "post" period in sight. Even after fighting stops, how long does a society remain in reconstruction? And for whom? For development agencies and donors, the duration of any given phase may be linked to government stability and capacity. For individuals and communities, however, there may be no clear point when "reconstruction" stops, since the consequences of conflict, like shrapnel, penetrate deep into minds and hearts, to be worked out over a lifetime and beyond, and affecting relationships and identities for generations.

Given the complexity of post-conflict settings, this guidebook does not attempt to articulate a definitive framework for decisions about when to intervene or how to direct investments. It assumes an intention to engage and suggests principles and questions we believe will be useful for enhancing children's opportunities for learning and well-being.

The consequences of conflict, like shrapnel, penetrate deep into minds and hearts, to be worked out over a lifetime and beyond, and affecting relationships and identities for generations.

[4] For an overview of transitions, phases, and steps toward the reconstruction of formal education systems, please refer to the appendix.

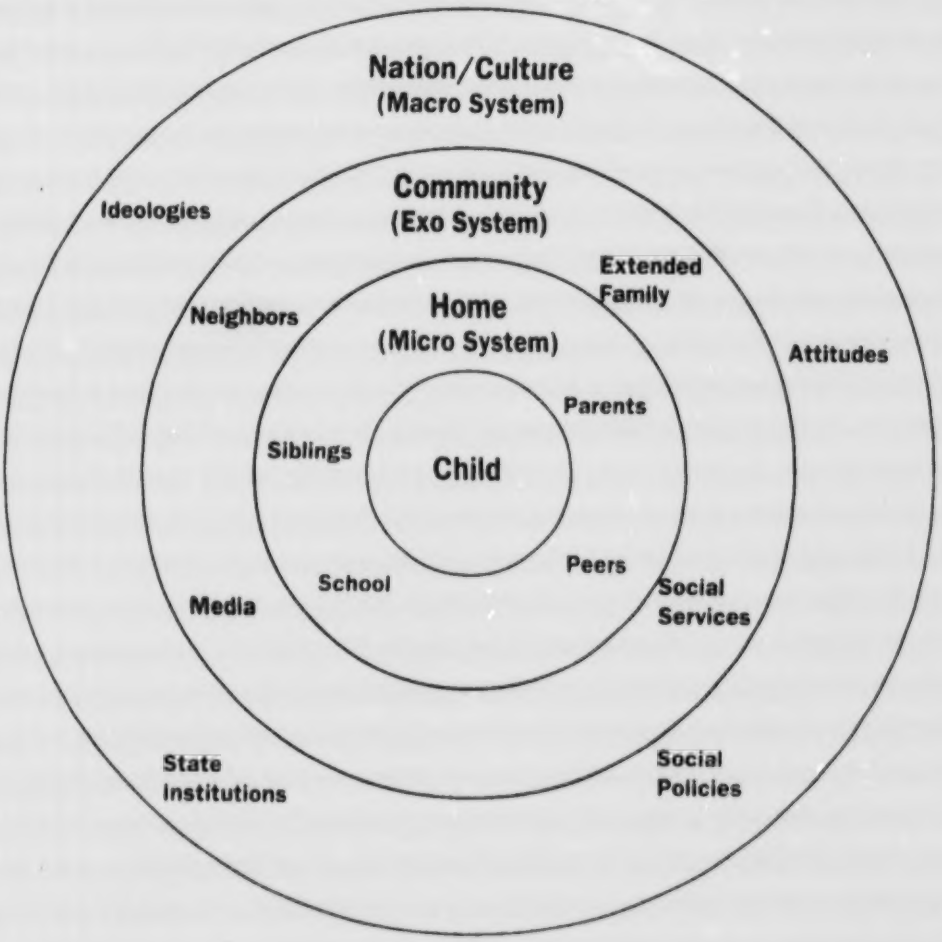


The Ecology of Recovery

Understanding the ecology of human development can enable agencies to work more effectively in post-conflict settings, as they help create the conditions for meaningful learning among children, families, and communities.

We believe that an ecological approach can provide a framework for addressing the multiple dimensions of post-conflict learning. Based on the work of Bronfenbrenner (1979) and Garbarino (1982), this approach looks at nested layers of actors and relationships, moving from the immediate family and environment to community influences on the family to attitudes and values at the societal level. The diagram below illustrates the ecological world influencing children's well-being:

An ecological approach can provide a framework for addressing the multiple dimensions of post-conflict learning.



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From an ecological perspective, concern for the welfare of the child is not simply a matter of direct service to children. The "target population" is embedded in concentric rings of relationships and influence. The child's well-being is embedded in the welfare of his or her family; parents' well-being is embedded in income-earning opportunities and relationships with peers; the efficacy of local institutions is embedded in regional networks and national policy environments; etc.

Thus, the goal of enhancing children's welfare is intimately linked to the welfare of mothers and fathers, their relatives, their support networks and affiliation groups, community organizations, and so on, in concentric rings of relationships circling out from the child at the center.

The ecological model affirms the value of interventions aimed at different social layers because they all have an influence on the child. That influence will tend to be more indirect and diffuse the farther it moves from the immediate family environment surrounding the child.

Nevertheless, conditions at each layer matter for the layers nested within it. The quality of interaction with adults in a school or marketplace; the way in which teachers understand and address the consequences of trauma; the extent to which community leaders have a voice in shaping development initiatives; the degree to which political leaders engage in a type of governance that fosters security and trust rather than retraumatization and renewed violence—all of these influence the well-being of children, and all influence how children outgrow the violence that threatens to disable them.

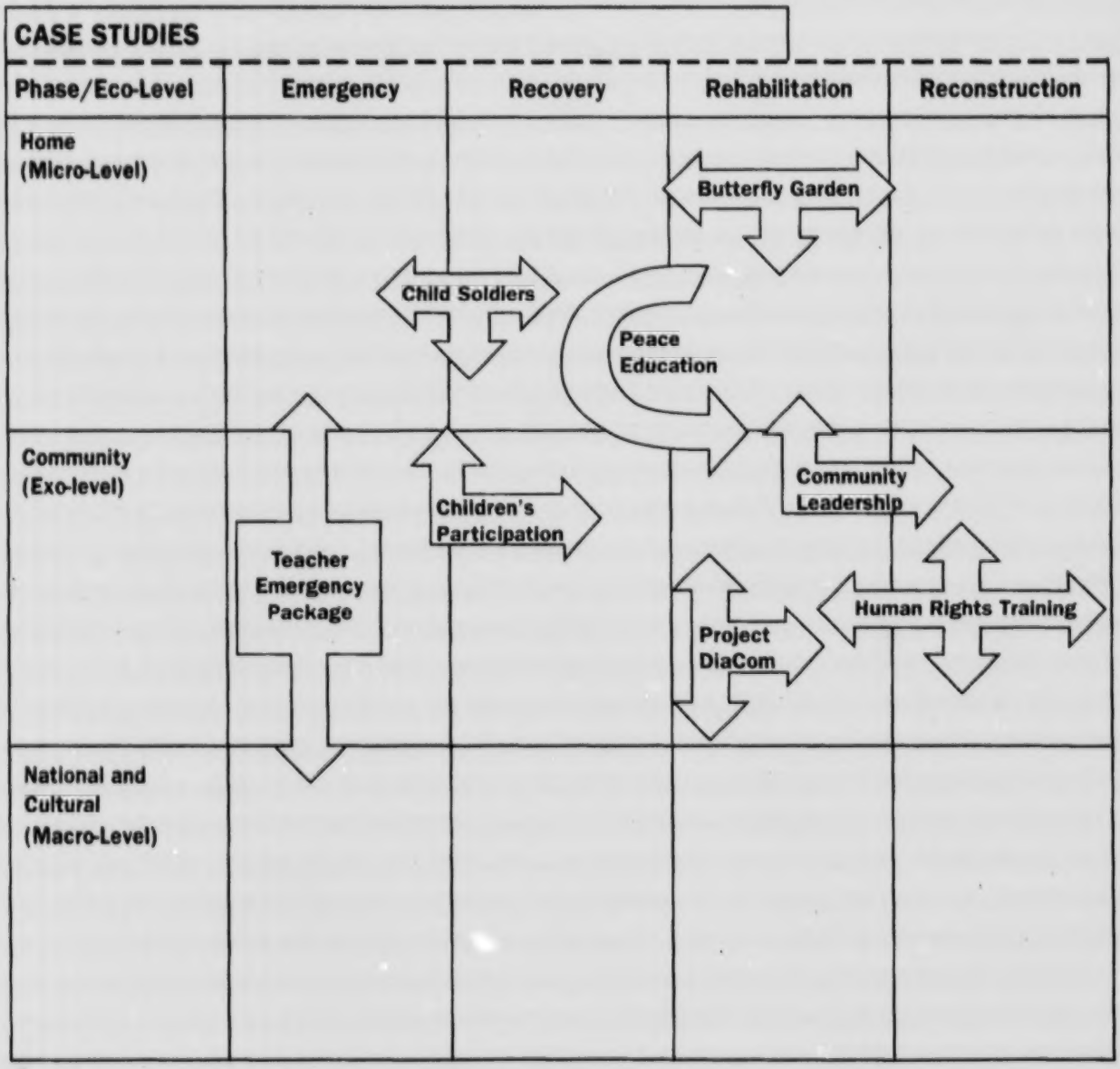
Yet even in a supportive environment, some children may never recover from war. Early experiences of violence and abuse can do irreparable damage to the human brain, particularly in the centers of emotional regulation and memory, increasing the likelihood of aggressive behavior in adulthood (Teicher, 2002). Violence can leave scars that no educational intervention can heal, and even the best interventions are limited in their ability to undo the wrongs of the past.

From an ecological perspective, concern for the welfare of the child is not simply a matter of direct service to children.

An Intervention Matrix

Considering the phases of post-conflict reconstruction as one dimension and the ecological layers surrounding a child as the other dimension, we have constructed a matrix to organize our selection of cases. Within the matrix, we have located our case studies to indicate how they might fit into a comprehensive effort to support children. Arrows are used to suggest the location and direction of the projects. A more realistic representation would show the cases overlapping several cells, horizontally and vertically, since the boundaries between phases and ecological levels are crossed by almost all of the projects profiled in this guidebook.

Case Studies Reflecting Multidimensional Interventions in Post-Conflict Settings



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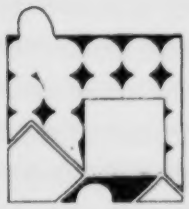
From Schooling to the Ecology of Learning



Basic education can play a critical role in the long process of post-conflict recovery for children, families, and communities. In terms of human capacity development, basic education can provide children with enabling skills of literacy, numeracy, and critical thinking. Such skills, keys to sustainable development and social equity under normal circumstances, become particularly important for rebuilding civic and economic structures following violent turmoil. Basic education is a foundation for economic stability and innovation (Vargas-Baron and McClure, 1998). For girls, basic education is widely believed to support gains in income, health, and the well-being of future generations. Of course, basic education is also internationally recognized as a fundamental human right. As affirmed by the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), education should be oriented toward the development of children's abilities to their fullest potential. Creating conditions for that development to occur should be a central objective of post-conflict educational interventions.

Curiously, the fundamental structure of schooling tends to go unchallenged in post-crisis settings.

While affirming the value of basic education, we emphasize learning rather than schooling in our presentation of case materials. By doing so, we hope to broaden considerations about how children learn, how healing occurs, and how communities learn—issues that a narrower focus on schooling may neglect.

Curiously, the fundamental structure of schooling tends to go unchallenged in post-crisis settings. Criticisms about the inherent weaknesses and problems of schooling are rarely heard amid the advocacy for educational reconstruction. Yet a glance backward at pre-crisis education may reveal how schooling was used to fuel social conflict, deepening inequities and promoting ideologies of devaluation (Bush and Saltarelli, 2000).

In dialogue about the role of schooling following conflict, hard questions should be asked: How is violence embedded within the routine operation of classrooms and practices of child discipline? How do examination systems promote failure and economic exclusion? How do prefabricated materials create dependency rather than stimulate creativity and resilience? How do formal institutions weaken informal community knowledge systems and resources?

Thinking about learning in post-conflict settings can open the imagination beyond the default imperative to restart schooling as it used to be, and open the possibility that post-conflict reconstruction can be an opportunity for deep innovation. Pigozzi (1998), writing on priorities for educational reconstruction, argues that education in post-conflict settings should be oriented toward transformation. The usual "add good education and stir" approach is unlikely to produce lasting change in conflict-ridden societies (Bush and Saltarelli, 2000). Crisis provides an opportunity to examine the shortcomings of old systems and attempt to search for new solutions. Discussing programming aimed at supporting children's welfare, Evans (1996) makes a similar point:

While some organizations have focused on the reestablishment of the formal education systems that were in place prior to the emergency, this may not be the best way to promote learning. Emergencies provide an opportunity to explore alternative approaches to education (p. 15).

In nature, severe disturbances to an ecosystem, when viewed over time, enable that system to maintain its biodiversity (Simon, 2000). A forest fire, for example, opens space for flowers and saplings to grow. Normal conditions, without such disturbances, often lead to the dominance of a few highly competitive species. The metaphoric application to post-conflict settings is instructive. Although crises in the social world come at a terrible cost, once they have occurred, it is useful to consider how they open space for diverse social and organizational arrangements for learning to flourish. In the absence of traditional schools, how else might learning be organized? And who might do the organizing? How can educational reconstruction promote authentic dialogue about childrens' well-being, parents' aspirations, and shared commitments to building a peaceful future?

Thinking in terms of a learning ecology moves concerns for quality education beyond the classroom into the broader environment surrounding children.

Violence and displacement create the need for the familiar, consequently, the introduction of radical innovations in the wake of social upheaval may create further psychological hardships. In each context, project designers should consider what processes will enable communities to balance their needs for security and the familiar with the opportunity to critically review old structures and experiment with new approaches. In other words, a profound challenge to post-conflict reconstruction is to develop mechanisms and conditions that nurture the kind of change that feels safe.

Interventions in post-conflict settings invite project designers to think in terms of what Jan Visser, former head of UNESCO's Learning Without Frontiers project, calls the "learning ecology" (2001). For Visser, the learning ecology is to learning as the biosphere is to life, i.e., the resource and context for its flourishing. This concept places the reconstruction of schools as one aspect of the larger project of the revitalization of the learning environment. Thinking in terms of a learning ecology moves concerns for quality education beyond the classroom into the broader environment surrounding children.

Fundamental Psychological Needs as a Design Tool

According to Staub (1989; forthcoming), human beings have a set of fundamental psychological needs that press for satisfaction, including the needs for security, positive identity, effectiveness, autonomy, belonging, transcendence, and the comprehension of reality.[5] When their fundamental needs are satisfied constructively, people gain a sense of well-being. But beyond individual welfare, when their needs are satisfied constructively, people build capacity for effective and productive engagement in society. For instance, a

[5] Do these needs reflect western cultural norms? Staub believes that his taxonomy is cross-culturally valid. The emotional need for feeling secure, for example, will affect a person's subjective well-being in any context. At the same time, however, needs satisfaction strategies are culturally shaped. Thus, the ways in which needs are satisfied vary across culture, based on cultural values and accepted practices.

sense of security and positive identity enables people to be open to others and to focus on others' welfare, rather than concentrating exclusively on themselves. For these reasons, the positive fulfillment of basic needs is a basis for pro-social behavior and the growth of cohesive families and communities. When needs are frustrated, on the other hand, people may turn inward toward their own groups and seek fulfillment of their needs in ways that diminish or harm others through scapegoating minority groups or advocating exclusivist ideologies. The frustration of basic psychological needs, when combined with other facilitating factors, is often the basis for mass violence (Staub, 1989; 1999).

The positive fulfillment of basic needs is a basis for pro-social behavior and the growth of cohesive families and communities.

As articulated by Staub, the frustration and the satisfaction of basic psychological needs have a powerful relationship with the level of cohesion and aggression in a society. Consequently, we believe that attention to these needs is a critical concern in post-conflict settings for interventions that seek to protect, heal, and prevent future crises. Discussion of basic psychological needs will surface throughout this guidebook, as we examine how particular strategies might address basic needs among various groups.

The following table provides a brief overview of a selected subset of the full range of basic psychological needs, as articulated by Staub (forthcoming):

Basic Psychological Need	Description
• **Security**	Perception of being free from physical and psychological harm and being able to satisfy essential biological needs
• **Effectiveness**	Capacity to protect one's self from harm, fulfill important goals, and have a potential impact on society
• **Positive Identity**	Sense of having a well-developed self and a positive self-conception; involves self-awareness and acceptance of one's limitations
• **Positive Connection**	Relationships in which we feel close ties to other individuals or groups
• **Comprehension of Reality**	Understanding of people, the world, and of our place in it; a sense of meaningfulness

The basic psychological needs framework is a valuable approach to regenerating the ecology of learning. It does not address the content of children's learning; rather, it addresses the conditions in which learning can flourish in different types of educational environments. Traditionally, of course, schooling has had little to do with fulfilling

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We fulfill the need for positive identity by joining groups that we value—whether militias or NGOs—and our learning is what enables us to participate in, and contribute to, those groups.

psychological needs. The normative practices of modern schooling tend to dissociate psycho-social well-being from learning, since learning is often viewed as a matter of individual acquisition—gaining knowledge or skills—divorced from a social context.

In light of recent insights into learning (Caine and Caine, 1997; Wenger, 1999), however, we can begin to think about learning differently, in ways that connect learning with the positive fulfillment of basic psychological needs. We believe that conditions that fulfill basic psychological needs are also conditions for meaningful learning, as we begin to articulate below:

- *Security.* Security implies an absence of threat. From a physiological perspective, threat can limit the brain's capacity for learning. Under conditions of threat, the human brain tends to "downshift," that is, to lose its capacity for creativity and higher-order synthesis, as it seeks safety in familiar patterns (Caine and Caine, 1997). Optimal learning requires a secure environment that allows the learner to move beyond the known in the construction of new understanding.

- *Positive connection.* One of the fundamental principles to emerge from studies of learning in professional work environments is that learning is a social phenomenon (Wenger, 1999) arising from inclusion in communities that share common activities. According to Smith, "you learn from the company you keep" (1998, p. 9). Our feelings of positive connection, of belonging, have a powerful influence on the direction of our learning.

- *Positive identity.* Learning serves identity. We tend to learn things that fit with our sense of self and the kind of person we aspire to become. Because our sense of identity shapes what is meaningful to us, matters of identity reside at the heart of our choices about what we care to learn. In part, we fulfill the need for positive identity by joining groups that we value—whether militias or NGOs—and our learning is what enables us to participate in, and contribute to, those groups.

- *Comprehension of reality.* This need is perhaps the one most obviously connected to learning. We might even rename it the basic need for learning, since it recognizes the fundamental human craving to make sense of the world and our place within it. The human brain seeks meaningful patterns in our experience, and we resist learning that does not fulfill our need for meaning (Caine and Caine, 1997).

The connections of these ideas to post-conflict settings are evident. Security is a primary learning concern in post-conflict settings, in terms of both the physical environment and the psychological environment, i.e., learners' perceptions of threat, perceptions that may be very different according to age, ethnicity, and gender. Further, the task of making sense of traumatic events, of finding meaning, is a powerful learning challenge that all survivors of social violence face. They seek to comprehend what happened and why it happened in order to come to terms with the violence they have endured.

With these connections in mind, the basic psychological needs approach offers a set of design criteria for post-conflict programming. Planners can use it to articulate how particular programs affect the satisfaction or frustration of participants' basic psychological needs. This question is important because, to the extent that a program can satisfy multiple needs in a constructive manner, it will support both children's learning and well-functioning communities. Below are several examples of design questions grounded in the basic psychological needs framework:

- How can an intervention create a sense of security for members of a community?
- How can participation in project design and implementation build connection and a sense of belonging among participants?
- How do educational activities affirm the identity of learners?
- How do educational activities enable learners to sharpen their comprehension of reality and sense of meaningfulness?

As is evident from these questions, the basic psychological needs framework can be applied from multiple perspectives to illuminate differences in need satisfaction for teachers, parents, or NGOs, and to indicate areas where needs are not being addressed. Further, considering differences in how basic psychological needs might be met in different groups can also illuminate points of tension, where competing needs may require careful balancing. For example, the need among NGO staff for comprehension of reality—for understanding what is happening in a situation in their own terms—may result in a desire to tightly control program planning or measure outcomes in ways that frustrate community members' needs for shaping their own sense of meaning in their own lives.

No one program will meet all needs equally. By considering what needs—and whose—may be addressed by a particular program, planners will better understand the meaning, consequences, and limitations of their work. After each case study, we provide a table as a tool for project designers to use in articulating how a project can address the basic psychological needs of various groups.

By considering what needs—and whose—may be addressed by a particular program, planners will better understand the meaning, consequences, and limitations of their work.

THE TEACHER EMERGENCY PACKAGE: Rebuilding School from a Box

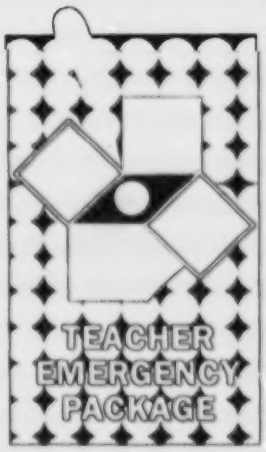
Introduction

In the 1990s, in order to help reestablish functional educational activities in post-conflict and refugee settings, the UNESCO Program for Education for Emergencies and Reconstruction (PEER) developed the Teacher Emergency Package (TEP). The package was designed to provide essential materials for a self-sufficient "classroom" and thus enabled teachers to resume instructional activities wherever they found themselves after normal systems had been disrupted.

The TEP includes materials for a teacher and up to 80 students, with slates, exercise books, pencils, pens, chalk, wooden cubes, blackboard paint, and cloth posters for numbers and letters. The package also includes a guide to provide teachers with structured lessons plans for literacy and numeracy activities that enable them to teach with relatively little training. The kits were initially produced for Somalia, and subsequently have been used in several other African locations, including Rwanda and Sierra Leone.

Alongside the kit for literacy and numeracy, PEER has produced a kit called RECREATE with equipment for sport and play activities that facilitate children's creative expression and coping with conflict-related stress. The recreational kit includes skipping ropes, volleyballs, tambourines, rattles, and locally-appropriate dance costumes.

Kits such as the TEP have an important, although contested, role in post-conflict learning. This section includes a story about the use of kits for emergency education in Sierra Leone. That story is followed by an excerpt from a description of how kits were deployed in post-genocide Rwanda, indicating the scope of their use and attendant training efforts. Following the case material is a discussion of the value and challenges of using kits for educational reconstruction.



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SIERRA LEONE: Where Children Draw an End to their Waterloo[1]

by Hannu Pesonen

"I was ordered to kill an old woman. When I refused, I was tied up and beaten. They threatened to shoot me instead. Then I did something to her. It happened in some village nearby. I took part in burning four huts there, and later burned five elsewhere. I didn't want that either."

In Sierra Leone, the abuse of children's rights has been more systematic and widespread than perhaps in any other armed crisis of the past decade in the world.

Sitting with a trauma researcher in Waterloo town refugee camp school, a shy smile on his face, tiny Saidu Kamara, 11 years, certainly looks more like a victim than a killer. Technically speaking, however, he is a former child combatant in one of the world's cruelest rag-tag armies, the Revolutionary United Front (RUF) in Sierra Leone, West Africa.

In Sierra Leone, the abuse of children's rights has been more systematic and widespread than perhaps in any other armed crisis of the past decade in the world. For eight years the RUF, along with other rebel factions, has waged a merciless civil war against the Sierra Leone government. No ideological reasons exist for the war. It has been fought mainly for the control of the rich diamond fields, which allow the owners to increase their wealth, and to pay for the troops and war material.

Dragging on for years and years without resolution because it lacks strategic importance to the outside world, the war has suffocated the whole country with a thick net of destruction. It has completely devastated the school and health facilities and forced 1 million out of 4.5 million people to flee from their homes.

It is difficult if not impossible to find a child in Sierra Leone who has not seen, heard, or been part of atrocities committed in the war or who does not have relatives that have been affected. "Four out of five children in Sierra Leone have been affected by the war, one way or another. The rest have been involved indirectly—by being denied education or health services, for example," says Sahr J.B. Ngayenga, a senior manager of PLAN in Sierra Leone.

Abducted from his home at Waterloo town, Saidu was one of the several thousand children taken by rebels when they attacked the capital Freetown and its surroundings in January

[1] Excerpted from an article in the Winter 2000 issue of *PLAN News*, published by PLAN International Australia. Available at www.plan.org.au/downloads/pdf/plannews/plannews_winter2000.pdf.

1999. Before the rebels were forced to withdraw by the ECOMOG peace-keeping forces, several weeks of heavy fighting and looting turned large areas into smoldering ruins.

Relatively speaking, Saidu is one of the luckier abductees. More than 1,500 children still remain in rebel hands; some of them have been kept for years. Saidu, however, managed to escape from his abductors after a seven month ordeal, hiding with a friend in a pit when he was ordered to fetch water. The rebels were hurrying back to the bush and did not notice the small boys, who finally ran to the advancing ECOMOG soldiers.

A few weeks after his escape, Saidu now speaks of his experiences for the first time. One event after another, he quietly goes through his bad memories of the fighting and his current feelings, a PLAN trauma worker at his side.

"I just harmed this one woman, that was all," he repeats in a very small voice. In the other corner of the bare room, another trauma worker talks with a 10-year-old girl, who is still unable to sit properly after several months of sexual abuse by the rebels. Across the schoolyard outside, hundreds of their peers play handball, jumprope, and dance in a deafening symphony of shouting, drum-beating, clapping, singing, shrieking, and applauding—and laughing, too.

They all take part in RapidEd, PLAN's quick remedial program for war-affected children, which combines basic elements of numeracy and literacy with therapeutic and healing forms of self-expression. RapidEd is being run in the schools at the internally displaced people's camps in and around Freetown. The camp schools were set up voluntarily by the displaced teachers, who realized that for children living in these conditions any school would provide a haven of normality, allowing them a feeling of safety for at least a few hours each day.

But the school alone is not enough. The traumas and bad memories piling up inside must be helped to come out, before the burden becomes too heavy to carry. "Two things are considered essential: the quick return to school, and tackling and exposing the deep trauma as soon as possible, before it is buried deep inside the growing children," says Terence McCaughan, regional program advisor of PLAN West Africa.

Saidu acts as most do. Loud noises startle him easily, and he sometimes becomes irritable. He always watches out and tries to stay alert, and he trusts adults less than he did before. He is not very hopeful about the future, either, and he was first very reluctant to talk.

"As a normal reaction, the children do not want to speak about their experiences. They keep them inside and will not overcome the trauma. Through different kind of outward expression, connected to the safety of a school, they are much more likely to open up. We encourage them to sing, tell stories, discuss with others, play, make dramas, or draw pictures," explains McCaughan.

The camp schools were set up voluntarily by the displaced teachers, who realized that for children living in these conditions any school would provide a haven of normality, allowing them a feeling of safety for at least a few hours each day.

To facilitate this work, schools receive kits containing an assortment of carefully selected equipment matching the program content. They include number and letter charts, pens and chalk, as well as balls, skipping ropes, and local musical instruments.

The methodology, developed by PLAN in cooperation with UNESCO, is based on experiences in other war zones and includes constant personal discussions with trauma advisors, teachers, and research assistants. Training camp teachers and PLAN staff in recognizing and dealing with child trauma is therefore crucial to success. "The discussions they have to carry out are extremely difficult. They must be conducted, and the questions be asked, in a very sensitive way," notes McCaughan.

"Two things are considered essential: the quick return to school, and tackling and exposing the deep trauma as soon as possible, before it is buried deep inside the growing children."

It is not easy at all, but most of PLAN's team members have a grim advantage: they have been displaced themselves, and they have seen their property looted and houses burnt down. So far, the results are mostly encouraging. PLAN staff conducting recreation activities in the Waterloo camp confirm that in three months, the sports and playing have made a large positive impact on the children's behavior. They open up much more easily and are less aggressive.

Saidu agrees. "I was very worried to talk, as I want to remove these things from my mind. I now feel more relieved. But I still feel very sad, too."

In Grafton, teachers and PLAN staff alike clap their hands with the bewildered audience of camp children, as their friends stage a colorful drama of diamonds trade, orphans treated badly by a stepmother, a big rebel killing soldiers who come to challenge him, and girls being forced to work as slaves.

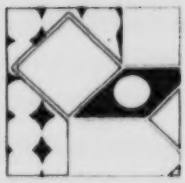
The teachers and PLAN staff involved in the drama activities of RapidEd say they want students to relive traumatic events in the play, but those events must be given a different angle, that of reconciliation, and be explained. To expose themselves publicly takes them a long way toward that goal. Many of the children here were present when their parents were killed. They became withdrawn, reserved, hostile. They used to fight with each other. Now their personal relations have developed, and they are much more cooperative.

At the moment, 3,200 children and youth take part in RapidEd. The curriculum is 36 weeks long, the equivalent of a full school year, whereafter the children should be able to enter the "normal" school.

PLAN's objective is to extend RapidEd throughout the country as soon as the security situation allows, not only in the camps but also to the reopening village schools. This means, in practice, that the program may form a basis for "remedial education" for all the children whose education has been disrupted by war.

THE USE OF THE TEP IN POST-GENOCIDE RWANDA[2]

By Pilar Aguilar and Mark Richmond



The emergency educational response in Rwanda took stock of previous emergency experiences such as those of Afghanistan, Central America, Somalia, and Tanzania. Large populations of children needed to be educated and an effective, rapid response was needed in the absence of a functional school infrastructure, an adequate supply of trained teachers, and school supplies. Educationalists have been forced to consider creative alternatives for these victims of armed conflict. In areas of special political instability such as the horn of Africa and neighboring countries, entire generations of children have not attended school. In the case of Somalia, since Siad Barre was ousted from government, no real educational system has been reestablished. The absence of a Ministry of Education has forced international agencies to take that role.

As a result of this abnormal situation, a Teacher Emergency Package (TEP) was developed by UNESCO in Somalia. The TEP was envisaged as providing a concrete response for nonformal primary education in emergency situations such as refugee camps. UNESCO PEER adapted it and translated it into Kinyarwanda to respond to educational needs for the refugee camps of Ngara, Tanzania. The TEP's main educational objective in the camps was to initiate literacy and numeracy for the benefit of illiterate children, and was linked through learning to leisure-time activities that enabled them to express and deal with their feelings of separation, insecurity, and loss related to their refugee displaced status.

The TEP or "school-in-a-box" as a mobile classroom, was easily adapted to Rwanda's educational needs after July 1994. It was designed to work where school buildings had been looted or destroyed. Its duration of use as an emergency curriculum gave a sufficient time for the process of rehabilitation of the educational system. In collaboration with the newly appointed Ministry of Education of Rwanda in 1994, based on an estimated figure of 700,000 primary school children, 9,000 TEPs were produced and distributed at prefecture and commune levels thus providing in a very short period of time the essentials required to reassemble the surviving teachers and school-age children to reopen the schools.

The impact of the TEP was enormous; by February 1995, more than 1,700 schools had been reopened, 11,700 teachers had been trained, and nearly 7,000 TEPs had been distributed. This emergency educational action was able to bring back to school, seven

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[2] Excerpted from Aguilar, P. and Richmond, M. (1998). "Emergency Educational Response in the Rwanda Crisis." In G. Retamal and R. Aideo-Richmond (Eds.), *Education as a Humanitarian Response*, pp. 119–141. Herndon, VA: Cassell. The Continuum International Publishing Group. Reprinted with permission of the publisher.

months after the horror of genocide, more than half a million children, thus providing the basis for normalization and relative stability in their communities.

The TEP strategy for Rwanda was accompanied by a two-day training program for underqualified or semi-trained teachers. The first day included basic theory and a demonstration of the TEP methodology. The second day focused on practical teaching skills for literacy and numeracy using the didactic materials provided for the teacher, as well as the use of the teacher guide.

In all training sessions the emerging local education authorities—district and local supervisors, headmasters, church representatives and local government authorities—were represented; this was mainly due to the fact that this was the first systematic activity taking place at the community level.

In an attempt to reestablish the educational system, a training of trainers was set up to be followed by the training of teachers in their communities, thus a "cascade" of training was adopted to respond to the urgent training needs of Rwandan teachers: a core group of 21 national trainers was established and divided into teams of four or five who were sent out to the 11 prefectures. Each commune was represented by two primary school teachers who, in turn, trained the other teachers in their own communes. In all training sessions the emerging local education authorities—district and local supervisors, headmasters, church representatives and local government authorities—were represented, this was mainly due to the fact that this was the first systematic activity taking place at the community level. It is worth mentioning that there was a remarkable absence of women teachers in over 90 percent of all training provided nation-wide during this process. UNICEF has conditionally been funding and assisting to reestablish an in-service teacher training system where female teachers would be given incentives to increase their participation.

At the same time as this process of emergency was being developed, the new authorities in Kigali were reinforcing the establishment of a centralized Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education. In-service teacher training has become more and more a regular program where priorities and activities are determined at the Kigali level. Consultation for the harmonization and revision of primary school curricula has come as a late response to the pressing needs of the grassroots-level teachers. However, this effort is being done with the participation of ministry specialists, local educational authorities, district and commune supervisors, headmasters, and other ministries, for example the Ministry of Family and Women Promotion, in order to ensure the gender component in the new curricula and teacher training. Notwithstanding this, there is an urgent need for action, since 70 percent of primary school teachers are underqualified and many of them were appointed during the emergency and have been only exposed to the TEP training, which is unquestionably insufficient.

Discussion

The use of emergency kits touches upon core dilemmas in post-conflict education. On one hand, they can be an invaluable asset in an emergency situation. When thousands of schools have been destroyed and many teachers killed, the kits provide immediate materials for restarting familiar educational processes on a broad scale. As demonstrated in the Rwandan case, the kits can be distributed quickly throughout a country, enabling schools to be reopened simultaneously.

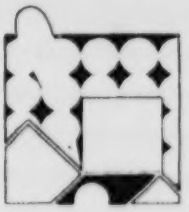
Providing the Tools for Rebuilding Schools

The kits are designed to be used over a six-month period while preparations begin for formal educational systems to resume operation. In this way, the kits provide a critical bridge between an emergency phase and a recovery phase. They enable children to engage in meaningful learning activities while administrative capacities are being restored at a national level and preparations begin for in-service teacher training.

At the same time, the TEP facilitates teachers' sense of effectiveness and security by providing materials suited to working in difficult conditions with large numbers of children. Supported by the materials, children can resume progress in the development of competencies (particularly literacy and numeracy) important for long-term reconstruction. As importantly, children who participate in structured learning activities regain a sense of normalcy and stability. School structures the day, creating a familiar rhythm and routine that contributes to feelings of security. The existence of an operational school signifies that the world is still working, that the community and the future of its children have not been irrevocably damaged. The school symbolizes the possibility for a better future; in this sense, the very presence of schooling, regardless of its quality, offers comfort amid social upheaval.

From a logistical perspective, the TEP has several valued qualities. The kits can be prepared by relief agencies in advance and be ready-at-hand for emergency response so that educational reconstruction need not lag behind responses in other sectors (Aguilar and Retamal, 1998). The kits can also be quickly adapted for regional languages and cultures, as needed. Symbolically, because the kits match public expectations in donor countries about the nature of emergency assistance and tap into positive sentiment for providing education, they can attract donor support for relief efforts.

We should note, however, that the "school in a box" nickname is somewhat misleading, since the kits are designed for nonformal instruction that phases into more traditional, formal settings. In a sense, the kits enable teachers to recreate the feeling of school, with some of the familiar activities, without rigid resumption of the formal system.



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Beginning with Play

As outlined in the document, *Rapid Educational Response in Complex Emergencies* (Aguilar and Retamal, 1998), the TEP is considered a latter phase in the process of initiating learning activities in an emergency situation. The first step involves recreational activities, as facilitated by the RECREATE kit. As illustrated by the work of PLAN in Sierra Leone, play activities can allow children to work through their traumatic experiences, give those experiences new meaning, and regain positive connections with others. By providing resources for children's recovery from traumatic experiences, in combination with resources for the development of basic competencies, emergency education kits can be a crucial tool in helping children outgrow war.

The movement from recreational, playful, collaborative activities to nonformal, competency-based learning activities is a key curricular innovation underlying the use of the RECREATE and TEP kits.

On the importance of play...

Play is the work of children. Especially during stressful times, parents need to encourage children to play. Play allows children to relate to events around them and to express these events in their own simplified way. Their participation in community activities can raise their spirits and occupy them in meaningful ways. When we realize how important play is for the development of a child, we can recognize the need for providing traumatized children with a place to play, an opportunity to play, and things to play with. They can thus reenter their development cycle, which has been so violently interrupted. It would seem that the sooner we can intervene with play in the life of a traumatized child, the sooner the child can appropriate the healing effects of the play environment and the sooner hope will reenter the child's world.

(Aguilar and Retamal, 1998, p. 11)[3]

The movement from recreational, playful, collaborative activities to nonformal, competency-based learning activities is a key curricular innovation underlying the use of the RECREATE and TEP kits. This curricular sequence of first engaging children in safe play and then moving on to more classroom-style instruction respects children's immediate needs for connection and expression as well as long-term concern for the development of basic competencies. In this way, the use of the kits in emergencies anticipates later phases of reconstruction.

Although they are designed for short-term use, the kits may last beyond emergency situations and can be used by a variety of audiences. In several African locations, the kits have found their way into existing schools and adult literacy programs (UNESCO, 2002).

Kits Reconsidered

The use of emergency education kits was discussed at the Inter-Agency Consultation on Education in Situations of Emergency and Crisis, a meeting of international professionals held in November of 2000. Among their criticisms, participants noted that the kits may

[3] Adapted from Kilbourn (1995).

create dependency because of their convenience; they are "addictive to users, donors, and procurement managers" (Inter-agency Consultation, 2000). Because they are packaged in a standard form, the kits often fail to meet highly variable needs on the ground (Sinclair, 2001a).

Further, the deployment of kits can preclude dialogue among families, children, educational officials, and NGOs in the field about the meaning and operation of education—dialogue that can build connections and shared vision. In other words, the use of kits may answer questions before they can be asked.

The use of kits may answer questions before they can be asked.

Some of those questions might include:

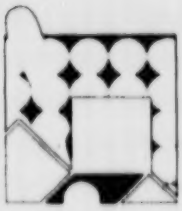
- What does it mean to be a competent adult in a community?
- What does a community hope for its children?
- Besides schooling, what other means may be available to support those goals?
- What materials are already at hand within a community that might be creatively employed for developing children's basic competencies?

Participants in the Inter-Agency Consultation recommended that kits be pared down to a basic level. In this way, they can be more easily restocked. Further, it was recommended that kits be phased out as quickly as possible to avoid dependency and that agencies agree on principles for the construction of kits, rather than on their specific contents.

Training Needs

As demonstrated in the Rwandan experience with TEPs, the provision of teacher training in the use of the kits is critical. Cascade approaches to training have been used for the sake of large-scale coverage in a short period, although the effectiveness of such training is not well known. Generally, a three-day training is advised, with extra time added for addressing sensitive issues related to trauma. The materials in the kit can be used in the training, ensuring congruence between the training and the actual use of the materials. The training can also involve community and government representatives, a first step in a much longer process of rebuilding community cohesion and sustainability in educational reconstruction efforts.

As suggested in the Rwandan case, the participation of women in training opportunities may require special attention. The changing roles of women following conflict, as well as the important role of female teachers for the success of girls in school, requires that careful consideration be given to means of recruiting women teachers for training and in acknowledging women's contributions to peace and stability.



By providing resources for children's recovery from traumatic experiences, in combination with resources for the development of basic competencies, emergency education kits can be a crucial tool in helping children outgrow war.

Questions for Use

For your context:

- When would kits be most helpful to teachers?

- What adaptations to the standard TEP and RECREATE kits might make them more appropriate to local needs?

- How would you introduce the TEP within a community? Whom would you involve?

- What gender considerations are important for the contents of the kits and the design of teacher training?

- What challenges involving sustainability and participation might emerge from the use of the kits?

In your context, how could the use of emergency education kits satisfy basic psychological needs—for children, teachers, and NGOs?

NEED	Children	Teachers	NGOs
Security			
Effectiveness			
Positive Identity			
Positive Connection			
Comprehension of Reality			

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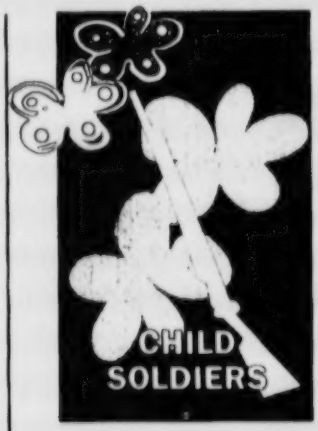
CHILD SOLDIERS: Finding the Way Home After the Fighting is Over



Introduction

Despite international human rights norms that prohibit the exploitation of children in armed conflict, wars around the world increasingly involve child soldiers. Armies and militia groups recruit child soldiers to do the dirty work of war, from serving as spies to walking through minefields. Some children may see soldiering as a means of finding security or supporting a liberation struggle; others are coercively recruited and subjected to physical abuse and forced to commit acts of violence against their families or home communities (Wessells, 1997).

Once hostilities cease, child soldiers face great challenges in coming to terms with the pain they have endured and the pain they have inflicted.

Once hostilities cease, child soldiers face great challenges in coming to terms with the pain they have endured and the pain they have inflicted. They may experience unwelcome memories of violent events and feel constantly on alert for danger. Behaviorally, they may tend to respond aggressively to others, making participation in traditional school environments difficult. Because of their history of violent acts, child soldiers may be rejected by their home communities. Without family support or opportunities to earn income in constructive ways, child soldiers may return to violence as a means of fulfilling their needs.

Fortunately, there is much material now available on experiences in different countries with the demobilization and social reintegration of child soldiers. The case study included here focuses on UNICEF's work with former child combatants in Liberia. It highlights the importance of reunification with families and access to educational opportunities for child soldiers. Following the case study is a discussion of key aspects of social reintegration programs for child soldiers and the dynamics of recovery from being both victim and perpetrator of violence.

UNICEF ASSISTANCE TO CHILD SOLDIERS IN LIBERIA[1]

The participation of children in Liberia's civil war was characterized by a particularly high number of volunteers. Most fighters joined for one reason: security.

Civil war in Liberia began in 1989 and continued until 1996, when the country's 14th peace agreement went into effect. An estimated 15,000 of Liberia's 1.4 million children served in the civil war, constituting as much as 37 percent of some factions' armies.

The participation of children in Liberia's civil war was characterized by a particularly high number of volunteers. Most fighters joined for one reason: security. Living in faction-controlled territory without a gun was an open invitation for harassment and intimidation by fighters, who often beat and robbed young boys of their food and clothes. Joining ranks was perceived by children to be a means of protecting themselves from this kind of victimization.

Other children were forcibly recruited. After 1993, many faction commanders, prompted by heavy losses on the battlefield, began to target children in recruitment drives. These children were often forced to witness the beating, killing, or rape of a family member and were told that they would be killed if they didn't join. Others, once captured or arrested, were forced to commit an atrocity that would sever ties with their community. They were told that refusal would be met with death.

Several peacemaking and demobilization efforts were made over the course of the civil war. However, these were thwarted by the factions' disinclination to disarm, and by repeated outbreaks of fighting. In November 1996, the implementers tried again, and in 1997 the exercise successfully concluded with no further major hostilities among the factions, paving the way for free and fair election that took place that July. In this climate of peace, it became possible to carry through demobilization and reintegration of former child soldiers. This report explains how demobilization of child soldiers and their reintegration into civilian society has been and continues to be planned and carried out.

Disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration are important steps to lasting peace. During disarmament, fighters surrender their weapons, ammunition, and other war material before undergoing a process whereby the chain between them and their commanders is broken. At this stage, fighters can be reintegrated into civil society by a process that allows them to become productive members of civilian communities once again.

With each new peace agreement promising disarmament and demobilization, agencies were asked to determine how to best meet the needs of children. It was felt that this

[1] Excerpted from case material posted in 1999 on the Global Information Networks in Education website. Available at www.ginie.org/ginie-crises-links/childsoldiers/liberia2.html.

group would need special guidance making the change from military to civilian life. UNICEF was chosen to chair the Technical Working group on Child Soldiers. This involved coordinating demobilization and reintegration activities and the interventions assigned to each agency involved in the exercise. With less than three months to plan the exercise, the working group set about drafting a framework for child soldier demobilization. This built on plans made before Liberia's capital, Monrovia, was looted in April 1996, although due to losses sustained during this looting, resources were scarcer and so cutbacks had to be made.

Most children wanted to be reunited with their families, who were likewise very happy to be reunited with their children.

The Demobilization Exercise

Of the 4,306 child soldiers who demobilized, 3,509 said they were in the care of an adult and left the demobilization sites. Nearly 800 children declared themselves unaccompanied; of these, 330 chose to leave the demobilization sites on their own and are presumed either to have made their way back home or gone back to their commanders. Another 51 children were immediately reunited with their families. The remaining 416 were placed in one of 10 transit homes around the country operated by SCF/UK and Don Bosco Homes (DBH) and funded by UNICEF until their families could be traced. To date most of these children have been reunited with their families.

Most children wanted to be reunited with their families, who were likewise very happy to be reunited with their children. In a few cases—normally when the former child soldiers had committed atrocities in the area—the families did not want to receive the child. Tracers, who normally visited the family and community to prepare them for receiving the child, would in these instances talk to the family and community. Typically, families would then come to see that the child was just as much a victim of circumstance as a victimizer, and would then be prepared to accept the child.

It had been decided that graduates of the three-month trauma counseling program taught by AME Zion Community College would be deployed to each site, under the supervision of UNICEF's trained counselors, to provide psychological and reintegration counseling. The sites were opened in a hurry, sometimes with just one day's notice, and it was often impossible to arrange for counselors to be at the site. Forty minutes had been planned for each counseling interview, but due to the large numbers and a lack of time, interviews were shortened often to 10 minutes, hardly enough time to establish a relationship with a child traumatized by the war. Moreover, due to a lack of space, children often had to be interviewed in a room where there were other activities going on. This lack of privacy clearly inhibited the children and contradicted promises of secrecy.

Reintegration

The obstacles to reintegration were enormous. The very structures needed to help the former child soldiers capture a sense of normalcy, such as families, schools, community

Seventy percent of children said that they thought returning to school would be the best way to rebuild their lives, but the national education system lay in tatters.

groups, and traditional societies, had been ravaged by the war. Moreover, the children had huge psychological burdens to deal with and were often stigmatized for their participation in the war and rejected by the communities and families. Moreover, lacking education or skills to become independent, few former child soldiers had the means to rebuild their lives. Seventy percent of children said that they thought returning to school would be the best way to rebuild their lives, but the national education system lay in tatters.

Another difficulty was the fact that while it was acknowledged that reintegration programs should be developed at the same time as demobilization programs, this was not carried out in Liberia. Reintegration programs developed before the fighting in April 1996 had to be abandoned, and agencies were too unwilling amidst growing uncertainty and skepticism to reinvest.

Despite these difficulties, reintegration programs have been highly successful in the area of family reunification and social reintegration.

The War Affected Youth Support Scheme

The only reintegration program underway at the end of demobilization (with the exception of transit homes) was UNICEF's war-affected youth support (SWAY) program. It provided a regular day program of counseling and vocational and literacy training to former child soldiers. The counselors, graduates of a three month war-counseling course at AME Zion Community College, interacted with both the children and their communities in order to facilitate reintegration. To date, some 6,000 children and youths have benefited from SWAY, graduating in one of eight disciplines offered. Some have established small businesses and others have been mainstreaming into the education system after gaining literacy skills during the SWAY training cycle. In many cases, SWAY graduates have successfully reintegrated back into the community.

Women and Girls

Two UNICEF projects were set up to meet the special needs of women or girls who served as "wartime women" during the conflict. Sarah's Daughter's Home, a project funded by UNICEF through the Calvary Chapel mission in Liberia, targets young girls with children fathered by rebels who have either died or deserted them. The girls stay for three months at the center, where they receive vocational and literacy training. Communities are also sensitized to the plight of these girls. A second center, My Sister's Place, a women's center supported by UNICEF and the National Women's Commission of Liberia, provides support services for women and girls abused during the war.

Tracking other Former Child Soldiers

In the immediate wake of demobilization, reintegration programs primarily focused on former child soldiers who declared themselves unaccompanied and went into the reintegration program after disarming and demobilizing. Childcare agencies began to raise concerns about the 89 percent of demobilized child soldiers that did not follow this path. A number of agencies developed programs to reach these children and provide support for their communities.

In 1997 UNICEF increased funding so that the tracing network could be developed to incorporate a tracking network. This was in response to the realization that the majority of child soldiers had been lost to the system after demobilization. UNICEF made demobilization data from the UN Department of Humanitarian Affairs' Humanitarian Assistance Coordination Office (HACO) available to Save the Children Fund, UK in order to intensify efforts to find, register, and document these boys and other war-affected youth. The database was to include demographic information on each child, as well as record his or her circumstances, taking into account factors such as family rejection, evidence of alcohol and/or drug addiction, criminality, pregnancy, etc. The ultimate goal of creating such a comprehensive database was to establish a network of organizations working with war-affected youth and strengthen links between this network and the children.

UNICEF, through the New African Research Development Agency, initiated a program to strengthen communities. Local community members are identified as facilitators whose job is to help communities find solutions to their problems and make them more aware of local facilities.

Vocational and Academic Education

According to data collected by the UN Department of Humanitarian Affairs' Humanitarian Assistance Coordination Office, 77 percent of demobilized soldiers expressed that their foremost desire was to return to school. To meet this important demand, UNICEF helped supply primary schools with chalk, pencils, and copy books, provide refresher courses for teachers, support peace education, and assist the Ministry of Education with updating textbooks and the national curriculum. Peace education has proved important. In Monrovia, up to 60 percent of school children are former child soldiers who often resorted to violence as a means to solve their problems.

Additionally, the UNICEF SWAY scheme and other reintegration programs had at their heart vocational and literacy training components. After vocational training ranging from poultry production to carpentry to graphic arts, students are organized into cooperatives and, if appropriate, given small start-up loans to set up their own businesses.

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Always value the principle of respecting the views of the child in decisions and activities that affect their lives.

Future Plans

Guided by the Convention on the Rights of the Child and the Graca Machel Study on the Situation of Children in Armed Conflict, UNICEF Liberia's approach to reintegration for war affected youth, including former child soldiers, in 2000-2002 is:

- To promote the protection and care of war-affected youth within the context of the family and the community
- To increase and intensify quality advocacy and communication efforts in raising awareness on the plight of children who need special protection.
- To use life skills, vocational skills training, and psycho-social skills and leisure (sport, music, and art) as tools for reconstruction
- To always value the principle of respecting the views of the child in decisions and activities that affect their lives

This approach is based on the lessons learned in projects developed in Liberia between 1994 and 1998. It aims to complete and build on the progress made towards the achievement of sustainable reintegration of the young people most severely affected by Liberia's devastating civil war. ■

Discussion

Most of all, children finished with war want opportunities to learn.

Once armed conflict ends, the process of demobilizing child combatants can begin. As outlined by UNICEF, a first priority is reunification with families. In some cases, reunification occurs spontaneously, but in situations in which children have been forced to commit violent acts against family or community members, returning child soldiers may be rejected.

As occurred in Liberia, demobilization programs often involve facilitators spending time with family members in advance of the ex-soldier's arrival, to prepare them for understanding the child's experiences and potentially aggressive behavior. Such conversations enable the parents to make sense of the child's actions and welcome the child back into the family.

Over time, the support that parents and other caregivers can give to children will greatly influence their recovery. At a symposium on the demobilization of child soldiers held in Cape Town, South Africa in 1997, participants noted that family reunification was the key factor in the social reintegration of former child combatants (Symposium, 1997).

To facilitate child soldiers' reintegration with their families, a UNICEF project in Sudan provides the children with a "Going Home" kit that includes basic materials such as a mosquito net, blankets, fishing lines and hooks, and cooking utensils. Children are also given clothing and supplies to help them get started back to school (UNICEF, 1999a). These materials enable ex-combatants to help support themselves and contribute to their families' welfare.

For soldiers, social conflict provides steady work. When conflict ends, fighters may not have a means of maintaining themselves, and so demobilization programs for child soldiers often provide opportunities to learn marketable skills. These skills are intended to enable the child to contribute positively to a society at peace and feel hopeful about long-term economic opportunities. The SWAY program operated by UNICEF in Liberia, for example, provides literacy and vocational training, with small loans as seed money for business ventures.

From Soldier to Student

Most of all, children finished with war want opportunities to learn. Child soldiers who wish to return to school should be integrated into existing schools, if possible, rather than separate facilities, and that integration must be undertaken sensitively. In Mozambique, former soldiers who had spent several years in the field were expected to register for first grade, which proved to be an embarrassment that prevented them from reentering the educational system (Aird, Junior, and Errante, 2001). In such circumstances, consideration should be given to accelerated learning approaches that allow children who have missed several years of schooling to catch up with their age cohort (McConnan and Uppard, 2001).

Also, teachers are likely to need training to better understand the impact of trauma on children and how they can assist in children's recovery. Efforts to assist child soldiers have much in common with more general efforts to support the healing of war-affected children. Through drawing, children can express the meaning of past events, and collaborative games enable children to regain a sense of playful, mutually helpful connection with peers.

Learning Peace

As mentioned briefly in the UNICEF case study, peace education is an important dimension of demobilization and reintegration projects. Intensive involvement in armed struggles tends to force alignment of the combatant's beliefs with the ideology of the group, an ideology that usually involves explicit devaluation or hatred of a rival group, as well as the legitimation of violence. Such belief systems do not disappear when child soldiers hand over their guns. To move toward peace, these belief systems must be addressed in school curricula through peace education as well as experiential, nonformal programs. Part of demobilization is the slow shift from ideologies of antagonism and the glorification of violence to constructive ideologies that offer an inclusive, peace-oriented vision of the future.

Being both a victim and perpetrator of violence can inflict terrible moral and spiritual damage on children, damage that needs to be addressed from within the cultural system of meaning the child inhabits.

Child soldiers face the difficult task of coming to terms with moral sensibilities deformed by war. As happened in Liberia, new child soldiers are often forced to commit acts of violence in ways designed to alter their identities and eliminate moral concern for victims. Without appropriate support and assistance, child soldiers may easily revert back into learned patterns of aggression as a means of satisfying their immediate needs. Having broken moral barriers and learned to devalue members of rival groups, child soldiers have advanced far along a progression of destructive behavior, a progression that makes further violence much easier to undertake (Staub, 1989).

That is why efforts to reintegrate child soldiers into community life are an important step toward lasting peace. Having meaningful opportunities to learn and contribute to others' well-being, feeling connected to community life, inhabiting a world that makes sense—all of these can enable former child soldiers and their communities to move beyond the violence of the past.

Respecting Local Approaches to Healing

Being both a victim and perpetrator of violence can inflict terrible moral and spiritual damage on children, damage that needs to be addressed from within the cultural system of meaning the child inhabits. Often, interventions designed by international agencies to aid war-affected children neglect the spiritual, metaphysical dimension of healing and the capacity of community members to generate their own processes of reintegration into community life (Green and Honwana, 1999; Wessels and Montiero, 2000). In some

African cultures, purification rituals for those who have perpetrated crimes are important for ridding the perpetrator of contamination caused by war and the threat of vengeance from the spirit world. As transitions from one phase of life to another, such rituals prepare former combatants for their social reintegration.

Based on his work with child soldiers in Angola, Wessells (1997) offers the following description of an indigenous approach to healing and reintegration:

> *In one community a few years ago, a traditional healer told me of a ritual he ordinarily conducts to purify former child soldiers. First, he lives with the child for a month, feeding him a special diet designed to cleanse. During the month, he also advises the child on proper behavior and what the village expects from him.*
>
> *At the end of the month, the healer convenes the village for a ritual. As part of the ceremony, the healer buries frequently used weapons—a machete, perhaps, or an AK-47—and announces that on this day the boy's life as a soldier has ended and his life as a civilian has begun (p. 37).*

In the transition from military to civilian life, a relationship with a community elder can be especially powerful for youth. The role of the elder in Wessells' story is instructive; the elder lives with the child, providing constant guidance and care. Such a relationship makes it more likely the child will accept the elder's guidance and seek to model the elder's behavior. Further, the elder can serve as an advocate for the child vis-a-vis family and community, encouraging them to accept the child.

Gender Dimensions of Reintegration

It is important to note that the experience of soldiering is not limited to boys. A recent review found that girls were active in the government forces or armed opposition movements in 39 countries (McKay and Mazurana, 2000). Yet the status of girls in armed conflict is rarely discussed, making them invisible to intervention planners. Programs aimed at demobilization should be attentive to the experience of girls in conflict and give priority to addressing their needs. Young female combatants are frequently exploited sexually and may suffer from sexually-transmitted diseases. Given the stigma that often accompanies premature or unsanctioned sexual experience, girls themselves may be reluctant to talk about their experience, making it more likely that their concerns will remain unaddressed (Aird, Junior, and Errante, 2001).

Although insufficient attention has been given to girls' roles in conflict and opportunities for supporting their reintegration into home communities, some examples of gender-sensitive projects have emerged. For example, the UNICEF project in Liberia offers literacy training and support for young girls with children fathered by soldiers. Girls need special

The status of girls in armed conflict is rarely discussed, making them invisible to intervention planners. Programs aimed at demobilization should be attentive to the experience of girls in conflict and give priority to addressing their needs.

support for finding acceptance and means of income generation in their home communities. Yet such training should not simply assume a preference for traditional gender roles and under-valued economic activities.

Protecting Children from Soldiering

Holistic support for ex-child soldiers is crucial to the larger goal of breaking cycles of social violence. At the same time, the prevention of the exploitation of children in violent conflicts remains an urgent concern. Political advocacy can help reduce acceptance of the exploitation of children and begin to build structural protection for children's rights. Improving access to formal schooling can also reduce the risk of abduction for children, as can efforts to de-romanticize war in the media and protect unaccompanied children. In short, educational reconstruction—infused with peace education, psychological healing, and human rights protection—can help prevent the involvement of children in future social destruction.

Educational reconstruction—infused with peace education, psychological healing, and human rights protection—can help prevent the involvement of children in future social destruction.

Questions for Use

In your context:

- How have children been manipulated by various sides to engage in violent activity?

- How do parents and other community members view children's participation in social conflict?

- How long have child soldiers been away from home and what level of education had they attained before leaving?

- How have girls been involved in social violence? What special needs might they have in order to reintegrate into community life?

- How do local religious/spiritual traditions address forgiveness and reconciliation?

Part of demobilization is the slow shift from ideologies of antagonism and the glorification of violence to constructive ideologies that offer an inclusive, peace-oriented vision of the future.

In your context, how could interventions for child soldiers satisfy basic psychological needs—for children, families, and the community?

	Children	Families	Community
NEED			
Security			
Effectiveness			
Positive Identity			
Positive Connection			
Comprehension of Reality			

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THE BUTTERFLY GARDEN: For Hope to Take Wing

Introduction

How can war-affected communities create places that nurture hope? How can the imagination become a resource for helping children free themselves from the burden of traumatic experience?

How can the imagination become a resource for helping children free themselves from the burden of traumatic experience?

This section presents a creative effort to promote the psychosocial resilience of children affected by experiences of violence. The initiative, known as the Butterfly Garden, is located in a Sri Lankan conflict zone. The garden provides a haven for children amid the chronic violence and stress that surrounds them. At the garden, the children can shape their own learning and play activities, enabling them to become active agents in the healing of imagination and the recovery of hope.

Physically, the Butterfly Garden is a relatively small place, a 1–2 acre walled compound. Inside the compound, amid large shade trees, there are open-air buildings for gatherings and arts activities, a tree fort, a sandpit, and a 30-foot boat mounted on posts for use as a stage and play area. The compound is also home to a small menagerie of animals, including donkeys, rabbits, a pelican, and ducks. Other wounded animals have been given to the garden for rehabilitation, providing inspiration to the children for their own recovery (Chase, 2000b).

The butterfly was chosen to represent the garden as a symbol of beauty, imagination, and transformation. As an intervention designed to help children outgrow war, the Butterfly Garden is a powerful example of how concern for the rights of the child and community reconciliation can be integrated. It also raises critical questions about the nature and processes of development assistance to war-affected communities.

The case study of the Butterfly Garden by Rob Chase describes the evolution of the project, the function of the garden, and important contextual issues related to the sustainability of the project. The case study is followed by a discussion of the dynamics of resilience and healing in relation to the design of the garden.

The Butterfly Garden invariably opens the children to new experiences: formative relationships with the animators, befriending children from other villages, exploring the garden and its resident creatures, and discovering their energetic and imaginative world.

HEALING AND RECONCILIATION FOR WAR-AFFECTED CHILDREN AND COMMUNITIES:

Learning from the Butterfly Garden of Sri Lanka's Eastern Province[1]

By Rob Chase

This paper is a brief account of seven years of project work in Sri Lanka that began as a Canadian university-led initiative in support of the Convention for the Rights of the Child. The work resulted in the formation of the Butterfly Garden, an innovative program of accompaniment and healing for war-affected children, and reconciliation at a community level. The principles and practice of the program are described, and important operational and paradigmatic considerations are highlighted vis-à-vis undertaking a community development approach to wage peace and accompany children affected by war. The early but noteworthy success of the Butterfly Garden as a zone of peace for children also raises questions about current development assistance and humanitarian aid policies and practices.

Health Reach: The Health of Children in War Zones Project

In 1992 the centers for international health and peace studies at McMaster University, in Hamilton, Ontario, co-founded the Health Reach Program to "investigate and promote, within the framework of international covenants, the health and well-being of civilian populations and children in zones of armed conflict." In 1994 Health Canada funded the Health of Children in War Zones project in support of the International Convention for the Rights of the Child.

Health Reach in Sri Lanka

Health Reach's Sri Lankan project led to a survey of several hundred school children in three different districts affected by armed conflict. This was the first investigation of the 17-year war's psychological impact on Sri Lankan children. During the 100-day cease-fire in 1995, a month of field work took survey teams of trained local women into Sinhalese, Tamil, and Muslim communities with histories of armed conflict to interview 9 to11-year-old schoolchildren over a four-day process that included home visits.

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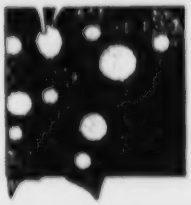
[1] Excerpted from a paper presented at the International Conference on War-Affected Children, Winnipeg, Canada. (2000a). Available at www.waraffectedchildren.gc.ca/sri_lanka-e.asp

In Batticaloa District, a child's family life often involves household displacement, orphanhood, separation and loss from refugee migration, extreme poverty, and the absence of care providers (mainly women) who are working in the Gulf States. The district is known for high rates of suicide and recruitment to militant groups. Nevertheless, school attendance, highly valued throughout Sri Lanka's post-colonial history, is held in high esteem and relatively well maintained.



The Health Reach partner in Batticaloa was a Jesuit priest and trained counselor who had started a small counseling center for ex-detainees and war widows. The team trained and supervised 30 young women to conduct fieldwork in four highly affected villages interviewing 170 children. Over 40 percent had personally experienced conflict related violence (e.g. home attacked or shelled, being shot at, beaten, or arrested). Over 50 percent had close family members killed violently, including disappearances of a family member following abduction or detention. Nearly all of the children recalled events for which the definition of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) applied (i.e., personal experience or witnessing event(s) of actual or threatened death, serious injury, threat to integrity of self or others); 92 percent of these events were directly conflict-related, as distinct from domestic violence, or accident. Severe (20 percent) and moderate (39 percent) levels of post-traumatic psychological distress were found, as well as similar levels of depression and unresolved grief reactions. Many children disclosed experiences and shared emotions previously withheld from others.

In Batticaloa District, a child's family life often involves household displacement, orphanhood, separation and loss from refugee migration, extreme poverty, and the absence of care providers (mainly women) who are working in the Gulf States.

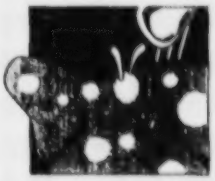
The Butterfly Garden

Parallel to the study project, explorations began for a suitable approach to psychological healing for Sri Lankan children. This led to consultations and Canadian-Sri Lankan workshops with the Spiral Garden program at the Bloorview MacMillan Rehabilitation Centre, Toronto, an outdoor summer creative play program for children, both able-bodied and those with disabilities.

One year after Health Reach's three-year funding ended, a transitional committee of local Batticaloa Health Reach team members and volunteers worked with Paul Hogan, Canadian artist and founder of the Spiral Garden. In 1995, the Butterfly Garden opened its gates as a peace garden for creative healing of affected children, with seed funding from the Peace Fund of the Canadian High Commission. Since the end of its first year, operational funding has been generously provided by a Dutch NGO, Humanist Institute for Development Co-operation (HIVOS).

The project brochure describes the garden in this way:

> *The war ethos of violence and destruction is replaced with the gentleness and creation in the Butterfly Garden. Both those aspects of the child that are wounded and those that remain resilient are addressed. By tending to the garden within the human heart as well as the outer garden of earthly experience with equal imagination and compassion, children can heal and become healers within their communities.*



For five years the Butterfly Garden has provided after-school and weekend creative play programming to over 600 schoolchildren from 20 communities around Batticaloa representing local ethnic groups (ethnic Tamil and Muslim). Schoolteachers are introduced to the Butterfly Garden in presentations at schools. Children with psychological difficulties are selected to attend weekly for a nine-month program; on a given day 50 children from two to four villages of different ethnicity attend. The program offers a rich choice of play and art activities (claywork, drama, storytelling, music, arts, and crafts) and is facilitated by a dozen staff animators. These local men and women from the different ethnic groups are trained through a variety of apprenticeship and skills development techniques such as hands on experience, attention to one's own personal healing work, on-site mentoring, and workshops arranged for visiting Sri Lankan and international resource people.

At the community level, the program explores ways that the children's experience and the positive results witnessed by their teachers and families may foster community reconciliation.

The Butterfly Garden invariably opens the children to new experiences: formative relationships with the animators, befriending children from other villages, exploring the garden and its resident creatures, and discovering their energetic and imaginative world. The animators and the program's process respectfully uphold the child's creative spirit and inherent goodness, modeling nonviolent behavior and alternative ways to resolve conflict and deal with disturbing emotional issues. Children with personal distress are invited to take part in a stream of reflective and expressive activities called the *Amma Appa* ('Mother-Father' in Tamil) Journey developed at the site that includes culturally indigenous rituals to honor deep feelings and promote healing and reconciliation. Through this, children experience healing insights into their lives and selves, and into their connection with others, past and present.

The program responds to the developmental maturity and creative growth of the children who come to consider the garden as part of their world, real and imaginary. It accompanies the children to young adulthood by providing follow-up session cycles, as well as planning days of performance and play in exchanging villages.

At the community level, the program explores ways that the children's experience and the positive results witnessed by their teachers and families may foster community reconciliation. Each program cycle closes with a grand environmental opera inspired by the children's invention, while ongoing collaboration with schools and dialogue with village leaders is encouraged. A pragmatic outreach program has emerged based on the strengths of the Butterfly Garden's work with children and opportunities for greater presence in the villages.

The list below summarizes key aspects and principals of the Butterfly Garden program that have been important in its relative success and that may differentiate it from other programming for war-affected children. While some may be unique to local community setting and staff skills, other features may be generalized to a model of "zones of peace for children." The program:

- Accompanies children throughout their adolescence within their communities (versus foster care/residential, or single/brief encounters)
- Aims to give childhood back to the children by providing them with opportunities to play and have fun, a sanctuary, and a positive counterbalance to their stressful and impoverished lives
- Offers an alternative culture of caring, given the eroded social and cultural supports available to children
- Provides healing and creative opportunities emergent with local culture that are neither stigmatizing nor medicalized
- Is staffed by young adults from the local community with creative talents and skills with war-affected children
- Maintains a close and responsive relationship as a local organization to its community, and is a resource for schools and local orphanages
- Promotes dialogue about ongoing local community tensions, and offers an approach to reconciliation

A reasonable timeline for evaluation would be to follow the children involved in the Butterfly Garden into their adult years. Nevertheless, even at the early stage of five years, the program has been shown to have a very positive effect on the participating children, with more incremental signs of success as a peace building and reconciliation measure at the community level.

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Operational, Organizational, and Ethical Considerations: A Discussion

The following section consists of critical observations about the obstacles and opportunities encountered in the Health Reach-Butterfly Garden project and seen through the lens of a community-based program focusing on war-affected children. The comments here are not necessarily intended to be categorical or dismissive of other goals and priorities, recognizing that Canadian and international development assistance is predicated on a variety of agendas. It does, however, advance the critique that solutions for the causes and effects of Sri Lanka's war, particularly as it affects children, must be sought at a local level. By this calculus, there is a widening gap between rhetoric and reality in Sri Lanka as well as within Canadian policy and action in general.

What is evolving in the Butterfly Garden is a culturally appropriate approach to healing and community that is growing out of the creative spirit inherent in children. This universal quality, expressed through play, may be as sacred and affirming as religious ritual is for adults.

'Inside': Local Considerations

Tangibility. Who will benefit and in what way? The degree by which school officials, parents, and community leaders came to see the Butterfly Garden program as worthwhile grew significantly once there was tangible evidence that children indeed benefited from participating. Their estimation of the program's longer-term objectives of community reconciliation is more tentative as this has clearly been a far more complex and treacherous issue for two decades. This also reflects a pervasive skepticism about the espoused goals of aid and development assistance projects and whether anything comes to show of it. There are numerous instances from various sources of hollow gestures, broken promises, and uneven distribution of resources that reinforce this attitude of passivity. In the face of this, the garden's increasing number of well-wishers is encouraging.

Community Acceptance. The preliminary Health Reach study of war trauma in schoolchildren was quite useful to put forward as a case to school principals and education officials to collaborate with the Butterfly Garden. With formal endorsement by the schools, most parents who had initial concerns about their child's participation were reassured. No doubt, the program's association with well-known members in the community (the Jesuits at St. Michael's college and Fr. P. Satkunanyagam's psychological counseling center) has also been critical to community acceptance. Batticaloa's community life is divided along ethnic lines: 70 percent ethnic Tamil (80 percent Hindu, 20 percent Christian) and 30 percent ethnic Muslim. While the Butterfly Garden program is respectful of all religious faith traditions, the association to a Christian institution has been contentious for some Muslim village leaders. Local religious tensions have been a divisive tool used by both sides of the ethnic war leading to entrenched communal distrust.

What is evolving in the Butterfly Garden is a culturally appropriate approach to healing and community that is growing out of the creative spirit inherent in children. This universal quality, expressed through play, may be as sacred and affirming as religious ritual is for adults. It might be seen as a form of lay spirituality that all people of good will may endorse, a secular morality respecting the value of children alongside the religions. It has been important to articulate this and to communicate these principles to all parties, inside and outside Batticaloa.

Security. The Butterfly Garden has maintained good relations with local security forces and militants, which has led to some opportunities for personal dialogue. The Butterfly Bus is allowed through checkpoints without harassment and with full respect as a "weapons-free zone." Neutrality, transparency, open dialogue, and observing and exemplifying respect for basic child rights and nonviolent conflict resolution are seen as the best protection for the program and its personnel on site and in the community. Its profile as a program with Dutch and Canadian associations and an international reputation offers a certain level of protection, but unsolicited media coverage has at times led to problems.

The Butterfly Garden endeavors to reflect the same attention to process in its community relations as it does with cultivating relationships of trust with the children. A UNICEF case study noted:

> *Given the depth and intensity of war-experience that each child brings with him or her into the garden, it would be impossible to even begin nurturing the self-healing process unless a relationship of trust was established between the child and the animator. By building relationships with the children themselves, the space is created for the development of a more intimate relationship. Physical and emotional presence is a necessary—but by no means sufficient—requirement for the development of trust. As importantly, relationships of trust are cultivated with communities themselves, on all sides of the ethnic, religious, and political divides. The garden thrives within a network of trust between children, animator and child, animators, and the Butterfly Garden and the community. Any weakness in the net compromises the program.*

Training and program management. Building the personnel team takes a lot of dedicated effort. The program staff is all from the local area, and all aspects of developing a program and office start essentially from scratch. The main input from outside has been the Canadian artistic advisor and co-founder who resides there much of the time. The prospects of finding suitably qualified experts in Sri Lanka or elsewhere who are prepared to relocate to a war zone are slim.

In the animators' work with the children, offering one's unmediated presence is emphasized in order to respond creatively and spontaneously as the children probe various avenues of artistic expression. Such empathetic presence may catalyze self-healing in both the animators and in the children. It is important to note that the animators themselves have lived through war trauma, this heightens their sensitivity and empathy, but may also interfere or distort responses to the child. Community programming for war-affected children needs to have built-in healing potential for those who work with children.

The Child-Driven Logic of the Butterfly Garden. Everything in the garden is shaped for and by children—the physical layout, play structures, program, food, and artwork. As one animator put it, "children are the alpha and the omega of the Butterfly Garden." The result is a sense of ownership, comfort, and security, an oasis from the war-littered space beyond the walls of the garden. The structure and process are derived from the children, not dictated by what adults think children need or want. It is within this physical and psychic space that the opportunity for healing arises, allowing the child to leave the narrow—and often constricting and violent—world of adults and enter into the "sacred space" of play. It is through play that children are able to touch their own originality and to see the originality of those around them.

Neutrality, transparency, open dialogue, and observing and exemplifying respect for basic child rights and nonviolent conflict resolution are seen as the best protection for the program and its personnel on site and in the community.

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From this, a substantial critique emerges of the donor-driven efforts 'targeting' war-affected children that have led to a 'commodification' of traumatized children and short-term programs of limited usefulness. Community programs for children should see them as children first who are to be given opportunities to be just that before being categorized.

'Outside': Canadian/International Considerations

The project work described here began with a one-time funding gesture from Health Canada to strengthen our contribution to the Convention for the Rights of the Child, and was primarily geared to a Canadian public audience. In a few short years the Butterfly Garden successfully made the crossover to a Sri Lankan NGO (a programmatic metamorphosis worthy of its name), but not without obstacles that were encountered between and within Canadian government departments and offices. The seven-year history has involved no less than six different funding sources.

Before the Dutch funders (HIVOS) came forward with an open approach tailored to the needs of the program to achieve its strategic objectives, there were repeated, largely unsuccessful efforts to access several Canadian funds. Some restrictions included short (one to three year) durations, coverage limitations (only Sri Lankan but not Canadian-side activities, or vice versa could be considered), or funds that were designated to specific project themes delivered in large-scale, vertical-impact projects. There may be good rationale for these features in funding policies and procedures, but its lack of accommodation led to frustrations and lost opportunities on the Canadian side as well as in the local project.

Much of Canadian humanitarian and development assistance is channeled to multi-million dollar thematic initiatives of three to five years' duration, with heavy investments of time and resources in planning and consulting. Waiting to build a large infrastructure before starting the program can be a waste of time. Children grow fast; they need help right now. The immediacy of their needs has to be taken into account while planning programs for them.

The bidding process creates a frenzy among the relatively small number of organizations and professionals competing against each other; local community groups rarely have the sophistication to apply. While some of these project funds have yet to be implemented, there is concern whether children will actually benefit in the inevitable trickle-down of resources; and penetration to affected communities is thin or absent.

When the Butterfly Garden began, nothing of its kind had been attempted in Sri Lanka or elsewhere. There were no models. Donor aid, where directed to children in war, addressed the child's urgent physical needs but not long-term psychological healing. The reasons for this are purely speculative. However, it might be surmised that the subtle and intricate nature of psychological healing does not lend itself easily to the calculus of

development and humanitarian aid projects. In the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), and particularly in HIVOS, the Butterfly Garden has found allies willing to take risks with their funding, realizing perhaps how very urgent the need is to find innovative models that will at least begin to address the psychological healing of children in war zones.

The view presented here asserts that motivation for program needs should come from the community as opposed to the community responding to the funder's agenda. Strict adherence in project implementation to result-based outputs defined a priori is antithetical to what is necessary to build trust and practical approaches in this kind of project work.

The underlying global and local factors fuelling wars like the one in Sri Lanka are grim and complex. There is a tendency to commodify trauma and children in war zones by humanitarian relief organizations to a (largely) secure and affluent Canadian domestic public. While this approach may catch public attention, it may not change the pain and retraumatization these children suffer as long as the situation remains unchanged. Advocacy efforts may be well-intentioned, but there is great risk that actions do not live up to words.

Motivation for program needs should come from the community as opposed to the community responding to the funder's agenda. Strict adherence in project implementation to result-based outputs defined a priori is antithetical to what is necessary to build trust and practical approaches in this kind of project work.

Trauma distorts the horizon of well-being that enables people to frame immediate hardship as transitory. In other words, trauma destroys the space children have available for growing into the future.

Discussion

A discussion of this case study addresses many issues that are of relevance for program designers interested in creating initiatives that aid war-affected children.

Consequences of Trauma

As a background, it is useful to consider how traumatic experiences effect children and their capacity for learning. An experience of violence can shatter children's sense of basic trust in other people and the benevolence of their world. Hence, the world becomes a dangerous place that demands self-protective vigilance. Wounded children may come to expect hostility from their environment and interpret others' behavior in that light, making aggressive behavior more likely. Trauma may also pull a child inward, causing withdrawal from peers and adults. By inducing fear and passivity, by replacing connection with estrangement, trauma makes the world a less spirited place.

Trauma does violence to children's imaginative capacity. The imagination of the traumatized child can be held hostage by the uninvited recurrence of traumatic images. Traumatized children may suffer from anxiety and have difficulty concentrating. Children live more fully in the world of imagination and fantasy than adults, and disruptions of the interior, unseen world are especially troubling. Because healthy cognitive development depends on a sense of wonder and play, trauma can constrict cognitive growth by limiting the range and autonomy of the imagination (Garbarino and Kostelny, 1996).

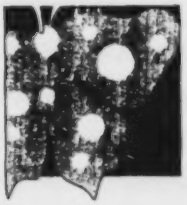
Traumatic experiences can also crush a child's aspirations for the future. A child who has narrowly escaped death may expect to be killed soon if social violence continues. The child may feel vulnerable, having lost a sense of control over immediate circumstances and the future. In this way, trauma distorts the horizon of well-being that enables people to frame immediate hardship as transitory. In other words, trauma destroys the space children have available for growing into the future.

Healing Child and Community

The dynamics of trauma shed light on the thinking behind the design of the Butterfly Garden. The children who visit the garden find a space where they can reinhabit their imagination in a safe manner, using opportunities for creative expression to engage—and ultimately move beyond—the violent experiences they have suffered. In the garden, aggressive children find new ways of relating to others, as they come to appreciate the environment of care and trust (Chase, 2000b).

Creative play is one of the most important avenues for children to overcome trauma. It allows them to express memories and explore deep personal meaning in a way that they themselves direct. Over time, it enables them to escape from the grip of trauma. The garden provides a place of absolute security, freeing the children to play without having

to remain constantly vigilant for danger. It gives them a child-friendly place, literally, another world, safe from the hostilities of the world around it and open to the boundless explorations of the imagination. In any post-conflict setting, Evans (1996) recommends that children have a secure place to gather, a place that they themselves "own." The Butterfly Garden provides such a space; as Chase notes, "everything in the garden is shaped for and by children."



Children do not just play alone at the Butterfly Garden, the children are accompanied by young adults who themselves have undergone similar troubling experiences. The garden invites animators to connect with their own creative energies and use play as an avenue for their own healing. These mentors can function as models of resilience for the children and can provide credible guidance grounded in their own experience. This is especially important in Sri Lanka, given the number of adults either killed in conflict or working outside the country.

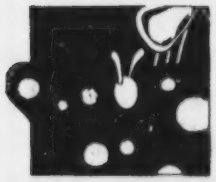
The presence of caring mentors strengthens the social support network around the child and thus builds resistance to further trauma. The trusting bond that grows between the child and animators nurtures healing. It also helps the animators themselves contribute to the well-being of others and develop peacebuilding skills. In this sense, the garden is also a practical training center for a new cadre of community leaders.

Rather than labeling the child as deficient or in need of treatment from experts, as many interventions tend to do, the garden assumes a capacity for healing within the child.

In the Butterfly Garden, the child is not treated as a patient or client of a service for "mentally ill" youth, but as a creative agent in authentic, sustained relationships with peers and mentors. The garden becomes a generative ground that nurtures the child's own process of trauma recovery. Rather than labeling the child as deficient or in need of treatment from experts, as many interventions tend to do, the garden assumes a capacity for healing within the child. What the garden offers is a protective space in which children's innermost creative expressions can unfold and liberate them from being victims of trauma. While affirming the spiritual capacity of children for self-regeneration, this approach avoids religious sectarianism.

Through its focus on children, the Butterfly Garden becomes a space for supporting social cohesion. Participants come from different ethnic groups and learn to develop constructive inter-ethnic relationships that may indirectly influence the attitudes of other family members. To extend its impact, the project stages operas that tour the community and fosters discussions about reconciliation. These activities can strengthen the climate of healing and nonviolence around the children and their families.

The Butterfly Garden is a site where children can feel safe and immerse themselves in the joy of creative play. Yet the strength of the Butterfly Garden is also a limitation as a vehicle for social reconstruction, in that its activities are largely bounded by its physical site. As a single, central site, the project is not able to provide broad access. From 1996 to 1999, over three program cycles, approximately 500 children have participated in the



garden's program, a relatively small percentage of war-affected children in the region.[2] Nevertheless, the hundreds of children who have benefited from the garden become adults who possess deeper resilience and self-understanding and can become healers in their communities. Such qualities are critical for the future of Sri Lanka, a nation with the highest suicide rate in the world, where more people take their own lives than lose them in armed violence (Bush, 2001).

Yet the strength of the Butterfly Garden is also a limitation as a vehicle for social reconstruction, in that its activities are largely bounded by its physical site.

Managing Trust

There are also important lessons from the Butterfly Garden experience at an administrative level. The implementation of the project involved careful consideration of local stakeholders' interests, and the development of the relationships and visibility necessary for the garden to thrive in a volatile political environment. Project implementers started with a community-based research project about the impact of social violence on children and then worked closely with local education officials to garner their endorsement of the project. These efforts built a solid foundation of support and legitimacy. On multiple levels, the Butterfly Garden has cultivated trust, as evidenced by agreements with local militias to allow free movement of the Butterfly Bus. Trust is a precious quality of relationship that promotes children's healing as well as community support of the project.

Trust is not always cultivated by the machinery of development assistance behind the project, however. Expectations of rapid, large-scale impact can run against the grain of processes needed to develop community-owned, locally-rooted projects that build on the creativity and regenerative capacity within children. Further, short-term funding cycles can pit local organizations against each other and increase pressure for quantified data on outcomes. As Chase points out, linear expectations for results do not support the subtle, often slow processes of healing and change underway in the Butterfly Garden.

Creating New Gardens

The Butterfly Garden in Batticaloa is itself an adaptation of a garden project in Toronto, Canada, and its approach could be adapted for use in other contexts. Further adaptations could develop from collaborative dialogue about local metaphors and symbols that connote a protective, creative space for children. Other than a secure physical space and a small group of committed facilitators, relatively few resources are needed to create an environment for creative expression—some colorful cloth, perhaps, or musical instruments improvised from everyday objects. Even amid the severe circumstances found in emergency situations, with imagination, and the goodwill of neighbors, communities can begin to grow their own gardens of peace and hope.

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[2] Originally, outreach plans for the Butterfly Garden called for the establishment of peace gardens in local villages. Those plans have been revised since then and more attention is being given to the development of new programs for adolescents and village festivals related to peace themes (Chase, 2000b).

Questions for Use

In your context:

- How has violence affected children's ability to learn?
- What might a site for children's creative expression and healing look like?
- How might such a site be staffed?
- What interests would be threatened by such a project?
- How might it interact with local schools?
- How could a site for children support reconciliation and learning in the larger community?
- What organizational funding patterns and reporting expectations frustrate the development of trusting relationships, among agencies and community partners?

Even amid the severe circumstances found in emergency situations, with imagination, and the goodwill of neighbors, communities can begin to grow their own gardens of peace and hope.

In your context, how could a site for children's healing satisfy basic psychological needs—for children, families, and the community?

NEED	Children	Families	Community
Security			
Effectiveness			
Positive Identity			
Positive Connection			
Comprehension of Reality			

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CHILDREN'S PARTICIPATION: Listening to Small Voices

Introduction

Active and equitable participation by communities in development projects has long been an espoused goal of development agencies. Participation is believed to improve the implementation of projects and their long-term viability. When war-affected communities can engage in decision-making and program management, interventions tend to be more sustainable (Miller-Grandvaux and Moreau, 2000). In terms of psychological needs, participation can create a shared feeling of meaning and connection among all those involved.

Many resources are available for undertaking participatory planning and community research. Because this material is already well known, we focus here on children's participation. We take inspiration from psychologist Judith Evans, who points out that children can be active agents in articulating their own needs and providing guidance for educational reconstruction. Evans explains:

> *It should not necessarily be assumed that only the family or the community is able to promote the best interests of the child. In accordance with their age and maturity, children should also be involved in planning and decision-making. Children have a great capacity to recognize and articulate their own problems and can provide viable and effective solutions (1996, p. 17).*

For insight into the dynamics of child participation, we include practitioner reflections from a child-centered project in Sri Lanka. The authors of this case reflect on how Save the Children (UK) used participatory research activities with children in a conflict-ridden society. The case also asks key questions about the challenge of such work and what the organization has learned from its experience. Following the case, we will consider the value of children's participation, suggestions for its effective use, gender issues, and potential problems.

CHILDREN'S PARTICIPATION

Children can be active agents in articulating their own needs and providing guidance for educational reconstruction.

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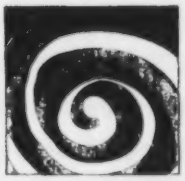

EXPLORING CHILD PARTICIPATION: The Sri Lankan Experience[1]

By Priya Coomaraswamy

Why Child Participation?

In late 1995, the Save the Children Fund-UK program teams in Colombo and the district offices came together to undertake an information gathering exercise that for the first time would include obtaining children's own thoughts and perceptions about their lives. Our learning from past experience pointed to a need for a greater understanding of children's lives, experiences, needs, and issues, particularly from the perspective of children, if we are to understand the impact of program interventions on children's lives. While work in the past had been designed to help children, there was little evidence of the benefits, if any, of our interventions. Project planning and management, with limited community participation, had not included child participation or responded to the specific needs of children.

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In our efforts, therefore, towards achieving more effective children-oriented programs, SCF in Sri Lanka has been developing and testing a child-focused approach to program development. Child participation is an integral component of this approach. It is also one of the general principles of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC), which provides the framework for the planning and development of our child-focused work.

This paper summarizes the practical experience of SCF in Sri Lanka in the mid-1990s as we have attempted to integrate the participation of children within the programming process, especially in areas affected by the conflict in the northeast.

Our experience and learning have evolved through various phases. Our first steps led us to incorporate children's views and observations into data gathering and analysis. We have continued this approach with efforts to include children as partners in the program development process.

We began by talking to children in areas affected by the conflict. Information was gathered from men, women and children through the adaptation and use of participatory rural appraisal (PRA) tools. Other pieces of research and needs assessments have followed. Lessons have been learned but questions remain to be clarified.

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[1] Excerpted from a chapter in *Stepping Forward: Children and Young People's Participation in the Development Process*. (1998). In V. Johnson, E. Ivan-Smith, G. Gordon, P. Pridmore, and P. Scott (Eds.), (pp. 161–165). London: Intermediate Technology Publications. Reprinted with permission.

Participatory Research: The Learning and the Issues

The PRA tools used proved to be effective in stimulating children's participation in the research process. Their flexibility made possible some modifications in their application to suit group characteristics and the information sought. Discussion around the PRA exercise created entry points for in-depth discussion with children. Several observations follow:

- Care must be taken with the PRA approach. How effectively are we using the PRA tools? What information is sought? What do we mean by "listening to children"? What are the underlying reasons for the data on the maps, diagrams, and matrices? In talking/listening to children, is the analysis in terms of the UNCRC? Are nuances (body language, facial expressions, etc.) properly recorded? If not, significant insights may be lost.

- It should also be recognized that this phase is just the beginning of a process. As we build a relationship of trust, children and adults should start to communicate and share their thoughts more freely.

- The children enjoyed the games, the singing, and the PRA activities, which helped us build a rapport with them. These also provided a sense of normalcy in conflict-affected areas.

- It is important to be sensitive to culture, power structures and divisions, and gender issues, as these can dictate how children participate.

- Children are not always willing to take part. Concerns raised by adults about children's issues could not always be explored with older children because some of them, especially the boys, did not join in the exercises. While children were forthcoming when providing general information, we encountered difficulties in eliciting their opinions and feelings. This raised a number of questions: could children's inhibitions be attributed to the fact that they are not often encouraged by adults to express opinions? Could their reticence be indicative of a possible closing of minds to past thoughts as a way of coping with unpleasant experiences? Does the lack of privacy in group sessions coupled in some instances with a large group size impede in-depth dialogue? We found that there was increased communication when a child was alone with us.

- Our work has highlighted that working with children calls for an investment in time. Security considerations restrict time available with communities in most conflict areas. The inability to spend a full day or days with them during the research process delays rapport-building, and valuable information obtained through observation is lost. During the school term it is difficult to meet with children as they have little spare time.

- The importance of ethical considerations was recognized. To what extent should sensitive issues be pursued? Probing could trigger memories of fear and pain and produce reactions to which the research team may not be able to respond. How do we assess "informed" consent? Before undertaking research, both adults and

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children were "informed" about the purpose of the research work and the dissemination of the findings. While their consent was obtained, the extent of understanding among the younger children needs to be reviewed. Age and maturity of children must be considered in efforts to involve children.

Program Development and Children

Participatory research has been followed up by child participation in project planing, implementation, and monitoring. The Women Headed Household (WHH) Income-Generating Project in Eachchantivu, Trincomalee District, is a child-focused pilot project undertaken in collaboration with a local partner organization, the Trincolmalee District Development Association. While the main objective of the project is to assist project participants in establishing viable income-generating activities, the project is being studied in terms of its impact on children, with attention to their participation.

Children have been involved in the project process since the needs identification stage. The older children in particular have actively assisted their mothers in setting up and helping in various tasks related to their small enterprises. An older children's group has been formed, with one child from each of the WHH families. As a possible method of monitoring the progress of the family activity, these children, with the exception of one 8-year-old, began maintaining diaries. This ended when children lost interest and the process became cumbersome. It has been found that older children are now consulted by mothers during decision-making and are taking on more responsibilities in managing activities. Changes have occurred to time/leisure activity allocation. The children do not appear disturbed by such changes and they continue to take pride in their varied contributions. School attendance has not been affected by the project.

SCF Anuradhapura, in collaboration with the Sucharitha Women's Society in Etambagaskade, is supporting a sanitation project in Etambagaskade, a border village. Children's participation in problem identification led to discussion about health practices and the problems caused by the nonuse of latrines. The children offered ideas on ways to promote the use of latrines.

Adults have worked on the construction of latrines. The children provide family support by assisting with small tasks. Their main association with the project is in the health-education component. A group of children have received training from the government health worker. Health messages were conveyed through child-to-child and child-to-adult communication. The children have also used puppetry to raise awareness. Some of the children are part of a team that has received training in puppetry and child rights.

Informal discussions and requests for participation in the sanitation project indicate a greater awareness of the importance of improved health and hygiene practices. Parents of children who had received training expressed pride in the confidence and ability displayed by their children. A project monitoring exercise is ongoing. The children are also participants in the exercise.

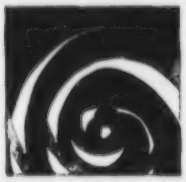
Working with Partners

In our plans to take forward child-focused work, SCF is developing and strengthening relationships with partner organizations. We recognize that SCF can have only a limited impact on children's lives given our capacity and spatial coverage. By encouraging partner organizations to adopt a child-focused approach to program development and use the UNCRC as a programming tool, attitudes towards child participation are being examined. In workshops held with NGOs and government agencies with which SCF is establishing program collaboration, the debates and discussions reflected an encouraging interest in pursuing the child-focused concept. Their interest has prompted some partner organizations to consider ways of putting their learning into practice.

Our work has raised the following issues:

- Possibilities exist for children's participation in different forms and at different levels. Children demonstrated that they could be involved actively with the main project activity or could make important contributions through associated activities.
- Why/how are they participating? Who decides? How will the effects of their involvement be monitored? What indicators should be used?
- Organizations promoting child participation need to consider the time children can allocate to project activities. Distance, transport, and tutoring sessions lengthen the school day.
- Will the promotion of child participation add to children's work time? The impact of children's activities will require careful monitoring with appropriate indicators.
- Children have shown that, given the opportunity and encouragement, they can contribute to developmental initiatives. The nature of their involvement could be an indicator of their increasing self-confidence and self-esteem.
- In facilitating participation through group formation, how should inclusion or exclusion of children as members be decided? Would exclusion lead to divisions? Who decides?
- It is important to understand the diversity of children's lives and adult-child relationships and adapt projects to suite the particular conditions within a project setting. The demonstration of children's capacities could lead to attitudinal change and a respect for their views and contributions to community-development initiatives.
- What are the implications for community social/power structures? How would adults perceive possible changes?

By encouraging partner organizations to adopt a child-focused approach to program development and use the UNCRC as a programming tool, attitudes towards child participation are being examined.



- The security situation in conflict areas frustrates regular extended interactions with children. It delays project development and creates concern among children and adults about their continued participation for project completion.

- Other organizations are also willing to explore child participation. The main hurdle is the attitudes of individuals.

- Our experience has underlined that this child-focused approach with its child rights perspective requires a different capacity of staff and a continued training input to develop the skills necessary for effective implementation.

Children have shown that, given the opportunity and encouragement, they can contribute to developmental initiatives. The nature of their involvement could be an indicator of their increasing self-confidence and self-esteem.

Conclusion

The major thrust of our child-focused work has been to make children visible within the policy and practice of development initiatives. In SCF Sri Lanka, our work has created opportunities for exploring child participation. Our practical experience has shown that, while the process has its challenges, children can make significant contributions through participation in research and program development. Our learning will help develop further child-focused work in Sri Lanka.

Discussion

Crisis management often implies expert intervention from outside the community. Discussions of educational reconstruction can be dominated by a technocratic rationality that maps the inputs required at each stage of reconstruction. While such an approach has a clear utility, it also has the potential to preempt local meaning making and participation in the recovery effort.

It may be especially counterintuitive for some relief agencies and development planners to value children's participation in emergency conditions. Although challenging to facilitate, children's participation in analysis and decision-making may be especially important in the early phases of reconstruction. The breakdown of traditional authority and management structures can open spaces for children's involvement, spaces that may close over time as those structures solidify.

In post-conflict settings, children's participation can be fundamental to a child-centered recovery process (Machel, 2000). The Convention on the Rights of the Child offers a strong basis for the promotion of children's participation in educational reconstruction. War-affected children, like all other children, have the right to develop their talents and abilities to the fullest extent. Opportunities for children to participate in program planning and evaluation can support their personal development while improving programs in ways that matter directly to the children themselves.

Learning for Children and Agencies

In many ways, children's participation has the potential for supporting their healing and learning. Children's participation in designing programs could invite children to discuss their experiences during the conflict and their aspirations for their future—processes that support the healing of wounds and the expansion of hopeful horizons. Such processes may be especially powerful when children have taken on new roles, as in the case of post-genocide Rwanda where child-headed households became all too common following the deaths of parents. Such roles often bring new responsibilities that change children's needs and perspectives, changes that participatory inquiry with children can illuminate.

At a psychological level, dialogue about meaningful issues enables children to feel a sense of connection with each other and with valued adults. It can rebuild the capacity for trust. Further, an agenda of participation positions children as creative and capable social actors, rather than as passive victims of social violence (Pridmore, 1998). Participatory activities can help children understand the deeper dynamics of the violence surrounding them and thus satisfy the need for a meaningful comprehension of reality.

Appreciating that learning is a process of meaning making and inclusion in constructive community practices, it is clear that children's participation is a profound vehicle for learning. It enables children to join meaningful conversations that have real consequences

Although challenging to facilitate, children's participation in analysis and decision-making may be especially important in the early phases of reconstruction. The breakdown of traditional authority and management structures can open spaces for children's involvement, spaces that may close over time as those structures solidify.

Rather than assuming women and girls wish to return to "traditional ways" after the end of a conflict period, agencies can use participatory activities to affirm women and girls' capacities for decision-making and community leadership.

in their communities. It is an opportunity for adults to model—and for children to practice—the skills of empathic listening, conflict resolution, and critical thinking. As Hart (1999) points out, enabling children to participate in project planning and implementation offers practice in democratic behavior, behavior at the core of building stable civil society. At the same time, participatory research activities such as mapping, modeling, and interviewing can be integrated with literacy and numeracy skill development. The practical work of collecting community data can provide children a concrete and meaning-rich context for working with basic competencies learned in school.

As noted in the Sri Lankan case, children's participation can be a valuable resource for the evaluation and monitoring of post-conflict programming. The lack of evaluation in such programming is one of the most disturbing gaps in the field. To better understand the outcomes of programs that aim to help children outgrow war, children should be consulted about their experiences. Moving beyond the extraction of information, projects might also involve children in co-constructing evaluation activities and interpreting the meaning of data. In this way, evaluation can become a catalyst for further dialogue and learning.

Accounting for Gender Differences

Another reason for children's participation in project design and implementation is that it can take account of the gendered impact of conflict. Social upheaval affects boys and girls differently. As noted in discussions at the Inter-Agency Consultation on Education in Situations of Crisis (2000), girls may take on new roles in post-conflict periods due to disruptions in their families and communities. While such changes may increase domestic responsibilities, girls and women may also have greater opportunities to participate in public life. Rather than assuming women and girls wish to return to "traditional ways" after the end of a conflict period, agencies can use participatory activities to affirm women and girls' capacities for decision-making and community leadership. Participatory approaches should also consider the constraints girls face; many may have less time available for learning activities than boys, especially if they have taken on extra burdens following the deaths of family members. Participatory processes involving girls should be conscious of the use of female role models as facilitators and patterns of interaction that can encourage girls' involvement.

Practical and Ethical Sensibilities

The practical and ethical issues surrounding participation by war-affected children are complex. Cultural norms, for example, may constrain children's interactions with unfamiliar adults. Children may not desire to engage in a participatory process, or they may be struggling with traumatic experiences in ways that limit their interest or capacity for public conversation.

The experience of Save the Children-UK in Sri Lanka suggests a number of questions to be considered in developing participatory opportunities for children:

- Are facilitators willing and able to take the time necessary to build trusting relationships as a basis for shared inquiry?

- Are the conditions conducive to effective participation? (Is the environment safe? Is there a mix of opportunities for large-group, small-group, and individual conversations? How are children of mixed ages and abilities enabled to work together? Do activities occur on a schedule convenient for the children?)

- Are there meaningful outcomes to the effort that are visible to children?

Such questions, and others asked by the Save the Children-UK project in Sri Lanka, indicate the level of reflection that should accompany participatory work with children.

Child participation may also raise political concerns. The "empowerment" of children could be threatening to partisan groups. Rather than emphasizing an empowerment agenda, it may be safer to focus on child participation as a means of improving services (Pridmore, 1998). Generally, thoughtful reflection on the political, emotional, economic, and cultural context is necessary to inform child-centered project design and implementation processes.

Child participation—like community participation generally—can be manipulated to serve pre-determined agendas. Given the dictates of results-oriented funding, project goals are usually established in advance of participant involvement, especially under conditions that emphasize efficiency and timely action. Doing so reduces the space available for authentic involvement in project design and implementation.

Further, children are attractive for public relations efforts. War-affected children can be easily commodified, as noted by Chase in his discussion of the Butterfly Garden. Images of children in dialogue with adults may be used for symbolic capital to impress project funders, even though children's participation may have little real influence in the dynamics of decision-making. Participation may even result in further disillusionment and frustration, as the gap between the rhetoric of participation and the realities of decision-making becomes clear. At worst, children's participation can become a tool for manipulation, masking the real dynamics of authority at play in a given context.

Care must be taken that children's participation does not become a mere fund-raising tool or symbol of a project's good intentions. When considering potential roles for children, there should be honest assessment of power and the extent to which children will have a voice in decision-making processes.

Care must be taken that children's participation does not become a mere fund-raising tool or symbol of a project's good intentions.

Thoughtful reflection on the political, emotional, economic, and cultural context is necessary to inform child-centered project design and implementation processes.

Questions for Use

In your context:

- How would normative planning, implementation, and evaluation procedures need to change to accommodate children's participation?

- What preparatory work would be necessary with NGO staff and community leaders to develop support for children's participation?

- What kind of activities would be most effective in facilitating children's participation?

- What conditions might impede children's participation?

- How could participatory processes be made gender-sensitive in order to promote girls' participation in project design and implementation?

- What problems might arise from participatory work with children?

In your context, how could children's participation satisfy basic psychological needs—for children, community leaders, and NGOs?

NEED	Children	Community Leaders	NGOs
Security			
Effectiveness			
Positive Identity			
Positive Connection			
Comprehension of Reality			

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PEACE EDUCATION:

Building Security from the Community Up

Introduction

The prevention of future conflicts is a guiding agenda of post-conflict learning. The vision of a world free of violence in all its forms has been articulated by UNESCO in its Culture of Peace initiative, which involves cultivating and promoting peace as a way of life (EFA Forum, 1999). The current decade, 2000–2010, has been designated as the decade of the culture of peace, and post-conflict educational reconstruction has much to contribute to the realization of this vision.

The prevention of future conflicts is a guiding agenda of post-conflict learning.

Several of the projects discussed in this guidebook make powerful contributions to the development of a culture of peace. Programs aimed at healing individuals and communities, as exemplified in the Butterfly Garden and Project DiaCom, can begin to restore a sense of trust in the world and rebuild broken relationships. For children, healing can enable them to move beyond traumatic experiences and strengthen their capacity for constructive learning. Healing among adults, particularly among parents, is also important for children's welfare, since their ability to absorb stress and provide affection is vital for children's well-being.

At the level of basic education programming, peace education is an important dimension of conflict prevention. It offers children practice in the skills needed for democratic, nonviolent civil life. It also introduces new messages into social discourse, messages that counter old prejudices. In this section, we include a description of a peace education project that evolved in a refugee camp in Kenya. The case material is followed by a brief discussion of several critical issues in peace education.

EDUCATION FOR A PEACEFUL FUTURE: A Community-Based Initiative in Kenyan Refugee Camps[1]

By Margaret Sinclair

The objective of the program was to develop materials and methodologies that could help build a better future for the refugees in these camps and that could be adapted to help refugees elsewhere.

Background

The normal practice in refugee schools is to use a curriculum similar to that of the children's place of origin, or sometimes that of the country of asylum. For various reasons, the refugees present when education programs were established in the refugee camps in Kenya preferred to follow the Kenya curriculum. In the predominantly Somali camps in the North East, Somali is also taught. In the predominantly South Sudanese camps in the North West, the refugees hope to use an anglophone curriculum on the East African model after returning to their area of origin.

The camps include a wide range of nationalities, and the crises from which the refugees have fled seem long-lasting. For these and other reasons, it was agreed that first an environmental and then a peace education program be piloted in the Kenya camps to enrich refugee education. The objective of the program was to develop materials and methodologies that could help build a better future for the refugees in these camps and that could be adapted to help refugees elsewhere.

The six refugee camps (three in Dadaab and three in Kakuma) have a total population of almost 200,000 refugees. The refugees in Dadaab are predominately Somali but there are also Ugandans, Ethiopians, Sudanese, and Rwandans. In Dadaab, there are 15 primary schools with about 17,000 students. A few students attend a local secondary school. In Kakuma the refugees are predominately from southern Sudan, but a growing number are from elsewhere including Somalia (both Bantu and Somali), Ethiopia, Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi, Democratic Republic of Congo, and Liberia. In Kakuma there are 21 primary schools with about 20,000 students. There is also an established secondary school in the first camp and secondary classes beginning in the other camps.

For historical reasons the population profile of Kakuma is heavily skewed towards youth. There are a large number of young Sudanese males who arrived as a group acknowledged as unaccompanied minors, who are now reaching adulthood. They are not necessarily recognized as a part of their own cultural group (e.g. there has been no initiation and historically they have remained separated from the general community).

[1] Excerpted from "Refugee Education in Kenya: Education for a Peaceful and Sustainable Future." Case study posted in 2001 on the website of the UNESCO Emergency Education Assistance Unit. Available at www.unesco.org/education/emergency/casestudy/kenya.shtml.

Both areas have ethnic, cultural, religious, tribal/clan, and language diversity. It was felt that if programs could be designed that were appropriate for each of these groups and useful to all of them, then they might be useful as a starting point for future programs in the region.

The peace education program is being developed in response to the perceived needs of the refugee communities and the violence inherent in the refugee camps. The environmental education program responds to the situation of these camps, which are in arid lands where damage to the fragile ecosystems is a cause of conflict with local people, and where daily life reflects a shortage of fuelwood, water, etc. Awareness-raising and skill development with respect to conflict resolution and concern for the environment will be helpful also in the case of repatriation, contributing to peaceful and sustainable reconstruction and development.

Community groups requested peace education trainings for themselves as well as for the schools.

Phasing of the Program

The peace education pilot project began in 1997. Pamela Baxter, an education consultant who had recently worked on mine awareness education in the Horn of Africa, talked at length with the different groups in the refugee community about whether they would wish to have a peace education program in the refugee schools, and what the concept of peace education would mean to them. The result was that the community groups requested peace education trainings for themselves as well as for the schools. Funded from the UNHCR trust fund for refugee children, the program comprises:

- Phase One (1997 to mid-1999): Development of materials and methodologies through the pilot project in Kenya, and sharing experience with other agencies.
- Phase Two (1999-2000): Further development of materials and methodologies through adaptation to contrasted refugee programs in Uganda and elsewhere, and sharing experience with other agencies.
- Phase Three (2000-): Wider dissemination of materials, to UNHCR field offices and other organizations, and mainstreaming of peace education as a normal part of a basic education program for refugees. If possible, linkage with other agencies to endorse UNHCR and other peace education and related materials as an inter-agency package.

The objectives of the peace education pilot program were:

- To develop a program of skills, values, concepts and understandings that are structured to meet the needs of the client groups, accounting for the multiple nationalities and ethnicities within the refugee communities, the varied levels of education among youth and adults, men and women, and the age-related conceptual development of school children

Awareness-raising and skill development with respect to conflict resolution and concern for the environment will be helpful also in the case of repatriation, contributing to peaceful and sustainable reconstruction and development.

- To strengthen and reinforce the conflict resolution activities being undertaken by refugees themselves in the camps, as well as any other initiatives related to peace education
- To monitor and evaluate the peace education program to ascertain its impact and worth
- To support the development of similar initiatives in other refugee situations

The pedagogic objectives of the peace education pilot project are primarily the development of skills as follows:

Communication

- Better listening
- Perceptions
- Feelings (emotions)
- Understanding the other person (empathy)
- Being fair to all sides (neutrality)
- Understanding of bias
- Understanding of stereotypes, discrimination, and prejudice

Appropriate assertiveness

- Understanding of self
- Understanding of others
- Similarities and differences
- Assertion, aggression, and submission

Co-operation

- Understanding of own and others' strengths and weaknesses
- Trust

Critical thinking

- Analysis
- Facts and opinion (impartiality and bias)
- Problem-solving

Conflict resolution

- Negotiation
- Mediation

Development of knowledge

- Peace and conflict
- Justice
- Human rights and responsibilities
- Gender
- Interdependence

Development of values and attitudes

- Self-respect and respect for others
- Trust
- Social responsibility
- Open-mindedness
- Tolerance

Program Development

The peace education program was developed following extensive participatory action research involving the various community groups. The groups all stressed that a school program alone was not sufficient. There were specific requests for a similar program for the adult population as well. This would, inter-alia, reinforce and support the school program. The program therefore has several components and inter-linking parts:

- Peace education in schools
- Community workshops in peace education
- Public awareness for the community
- Peace education in nonformal education
- Peace education workshops for agency staff

As with environmental education, the program developed from the philosophy that ready-to-use lesson or session plans would be needed, because many teachers would not have the time or ability to develop these plans themselves, based on a generic training. Hence the first materials produced were as follows:

Community Workshop Facilitators Manual: a guide of lesson plans, activities, and methodology for the facilitators of the community workshops (12 half-day sessions).

Teachers' Activity Book: a series of graded lesson plans covering one period per week for each year of primary school up to year seven for the various concept areas. It includes the methodology both for the lesson and the on-going concept development.

The peace education program was developed following extensive participatory action research involving the various community groups.

Environmental education and peace education are processes and not time-specific activities.

Supplementary Materials: story books, pictures/posters to act as discussion starters, role play cards, and songs and poetry (traditional or written in the communities).

Public Awareness Materials: posters, songs, poetry, and drama for street and community theater. Almost all of this material has come from the community groups themselves generally as a product of the workshops.

Outcomes and Lessons Learned

As a consequence of these interventions, over 30,000 school children in the refugee camps in Kenya have benefited from environmental education curriculum enrichment and from weekly participative activities under the peace education program. A large number of adults have benefited from nonformal and informal/public awareness activities in both these fields. As of June 1999, approximately 2,700 youth and adults had participated in the 10-session community workshops for peace education and demand remains high.

As a result, refugees in some of the most dismal refugee locations have had the benefit of educational and developmental experiences that can help them face their present problems and prepare them for return to their places of origin when repatriation is possible. So far, the evaluation of these programs has been mainly through feedback from participants and teachers/facilitators, but a more thorough evaluation will be needed in the near future.

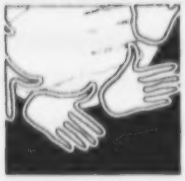
Lessons learned include the following:

- Environmental education and peace education are processes and not time-specific activities.
- Refugee educators and communities should be involved in the early design phase for each country program.
- Formal and nonformal approaches should be harmonized: using a whole community approach when possible, and involving many community groups and events.
- Activities should be linked to relevant ongoing projects, e.g. environmental care, newsletters, etc.
- Activities can be diffused into existing school subjects and/or given separate time periods and teachers to maximize impact (as in the peace education pilot project).
- In-service teacher training in use of exploratory/participative methods for these programs can reinforce other in-service training in methodology.

The materials and methodologies developed in the Kenya pilot projects are serving as the basis for the development of locally-adapted programs in other refugee locations. It is intended that these approaches should be mainstreamed into normal refugee education programs.

In this regard, it may be noted that the largest costs are those of start-up. Where there is not expertise already in place, the development work requires the employment of expert staff/consultants to work through the various stages from participative research to the development of materials, training of teachers and trainers, and so on.

Apart from start-up costs, there will be some recurrent costs after mainstreaming. These should be integrated into normal education, environment, and other project budgets, but this can be difficult to ensure under situations of budget shortfalls common to organizations working in emergency situations. Ongoing dedicated financial and specialist support of a modest nature, if available, will help ensure the continued development of these programs.



Formal and nonformal approaches should be harmonized: using a whole community approach when possible, and involving many community groups and events.

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Discussion

Violence does not end when a region has entered a post-conflict period. Aggression often persists in multiple forms: in revenge killings, inter-ethnic fighting, domestic abuse, and, more subtly, the erosion of hope for a habitable future. Hostility may be particularly common in refugee camps and other temporary settlements because they bring together diverse groups in unwelcome conditions.

How can educational reconstruction promote peace amid conditions that foster aggression?

Building Peace from the Beginning

How can educational reconstruction promote peace amid conditions that foster aggression? This is not a question to ask in the final stages of reconstruction; rather, the ways in which education can be used as an instrument of peacebuilding is a central issue, from the emergency phase through later phases of recovery (EFA Forum, 1998). Orienting education toward peace requires critical reflection on the ways in which education has contributed to exclusion and aggression in a particular context.

Fundamentally, peace education is based on the assumption that conflict is a learned behavior (Evans, 1996) and that, in place of prejudices and aggression, children can learn inclusive values of caring for others and strategies for effective conflict resolution. Peace education pays particular attention to the concrete activities of teachers, parents, and children with the awareness that every experience can be a step forward toward peace or a step backward toward aggression. Peace education, broadly understood, reaches into every aspect of the ecology of learning. Evans writes:

> *Peace is promoted through the ways that adults interact with children, through the stories that are told about other people, through the kinds of games and play that children engage in, through the ways adults facilitate children's interaction and promote the solving of conflicts in peaceful ways, through the kinds of songs that children sing, through children's exposure to violence in the media, and through children's access to and degree of encouragement in the use of toys designed to look like weapons* (1996, p. 19).

This approach speaks to the subtle ways in which violent responses to conflict are reinforced. Peace education goes beyond changes in the formal school curriculum to address behavioral norms and prejudices embedded in local stories and songs that can prepare children for aggression against others. In this sense, peace education makes explicit that children, in their formal education and informal socialization, are already enrolled in some form of violence preparation program—a program that can be reversed for the sake of violence prevention.

Given its sensitivity to everyday life, peace education cannot be developed in the abstract. It requires intensive collaboration with local communities. Notably, the peace education project in Kenya began with a participatory assessment, asking first if the community was interested in peace education, and, if so, what such a program might mean in that context. The project was demand-driven and grounded in the participants' own experience. It also identified existing community practices of conflict resolution, thus building on local strengths. Rather than focusing only on children in school, the project was based

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on the insight that peace education involves everyone. Thus, the project developed several community-based components, with school-oriented work as one aspect of the whole community approach. Such an approach touches on multiple layers of the ecology of learning.

The lessons learned in the Kenyan peace education program merit reemphasis. First, peace education was developed alongside environmental education in a holistic approach that acknowledged the relationship between environmental degradation and social conflict. As with environmental education, it was found that peace education was a process, not a time-bound activity that would produce immediate outcomes. Further, the refugees themselves typically serve as peace education teachers and workshop leaders. Their training emphasizes the importance of modeling positive communication skills and the use of active pedagogical strategies (Baxter, 2001).

An in-depth case study of the peace education program notes that the program is highly popular among refugees (Sommers, 2001). Evidence from interviews indicates that the project is bearing fruit: adult participants and some children have formed their own peace education groups and have been called upon to resolve conflicts in the camps.

A limitation on the project's capacity to build peace, however, is that the participants tend to be people who already behave in peaceful ways (Sommers, 2001). Marginalized youth, the most violence-prone segment of the camp population, usually do not participate. Among adult participants, the project tends to serve the educated elite, often excluding women.

The Practices of Peace Education

In schools, pedagogical practices convey important messages about authority and dignity. Teachers who demand unquestioning obedience or use physical punishment may undermine the development of nonviolent, democratic behaviors among students. To be effective, classroom practices should model the values espoused in peace education programs (Bush and Saltarelli, 2000).

A strategy that may be useful in promoting peace is service learning, i.e., finding ways that academic learning can be combined with practical learning in service to others. How might children, for example, learn mathematical skills in combination with working on community building projects or participating in community-based research activities? Even within the school, how might cooperative learning strategies be introduced into classroom practice? How might older children take responsibility for supporting the learning of younger children?

Insight from research on the development of pro-social behavior indicates that children's experiences profoundly shape their actions toward others. Children who have opportunities to assist others—especially when the value of their efforts to others' welfare is articulated—tend to engage in more helpful behavior later (Staub, 1979). People who help others begin to see themselves as helpful people, and they tend to value the welfare

Teachers who demand unquestioning obedience or use physical punishment may undermine the development of nonviolent, democratic behaviors among students.

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Positive bystandership means a willingness to publicly address violations of human rights and human dignity.

of those they help. In short, valuing others is not merely a cognitive skill, it is learned through concrete experiences. Effective peace education, then, should include culturally-sensible practice in collaboration, trusting, and caring for the welfare of others.

Positive Bystandership

There are some important dimensions of peacebuilding not covered in the case material presented here. In his research on group violence, Staub (1992) has found that bystanders can exert a powerful influence in stopping violence. Bystanders—both proximal and distant—can denounce the behavior of perpetrators and uphold the dignity of victims. Doing so can be especially effective in situations where a perpetrator group has dehumanized its victims and may believe that others support its aggression due to their complicity.

Positive bystandership means a willingness to publicly address violations of human rights and human dignity. In terms of peace education, developing positive bystandership can be encouraged at the individual level, as children and adults are invited to discuss meaningful ethical issues and speak about their concerns for people being harmed in their communities. At another level, we might ask, how can the school itself serve as a positive bystander? Through public events (such as displays, dramas, and community dialogues), how can the school bear witness to violence and harmdoing? Preparing for such events can be an opportunity for adults and children to discuss their war-time experiences and provide a sense of efficacy in the creation of a more peaceful, positive future.

Yet peace education may be politically volatile. In contexts in which power seems scarce and various groups struggle for dominance, there may be resistance to messages of collaboration and nonviolence. Continuous dialogue among all stakeholders is important to sustaining peace education initiatives, with special attention that the voices of children and women are heard.

From the Community Up

Peace education, ideally, extends into the system of valuing at a larger social level, contributing to the "demilitarization of the mind" (Bush and Saltarelli, 2000, p. 28). Peace education helps children, adults, and communities become conscious of the negative images of other groups they may hold and the ways in which they support violence. In Somalia, a peace education program challenged the cultural valorization of the gun as a symbol of courage and machismo. The program included a traveling play called "Drop the Gun, Rebuild the Nation" (Retamal and Devadoss, 1998). By advancing such messages, peace education can help change reference points for the construction of identity (particularly male identity) in a society. In this way, peace education enables children to feel good about themselves when they act in collaborative ways and refrain from taking up symbols of violence. Understood broadly as an effort to affirm nonviolent, inclusive values and practices among children and communities, peace education is integral to building a new cultural infrastructure of collaboration across group boundaries.

Questions for Use

In your context:

- In what ways has education been used to fuel inter-group conflict in the past?

- How do local communities traditionally manage conflict?

- What attitudes and skills might be important to promote in a peace education initiative?

- How can peace education reach beyond children to include other perpetrators of violence in the community?

- How could school and community efforts in peace education be integrated?

- What kinds of resistance to peace education might arise?

Understood broadly as an effort to affirm nonviolent, inclusive values and practices among children and communities, peace education is integral to building a new cultural infrastructure of collaboration across group boundaries.

In your context, how could peace education satisfy basic psychological needs—for children, families, and the community?

NEED	Children	Families	Community
Security			
Effectiveness			
Positive Identity			
Positive Connection			
Comprehension of Reality			

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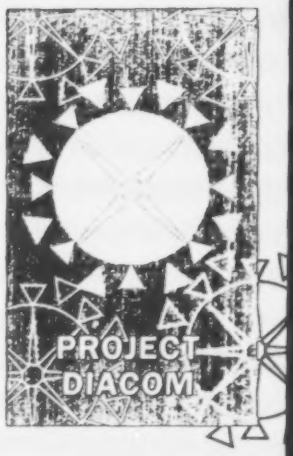
TEACHERS' VOICES: Dialogue and School-making Amid the Wreckage



Introduction

Efforts to reconstruct educational systems following violence or crisis must attend to the pivotal role of teachers. Teachers in post-conflict settings face new complexities that include working with traumatized children, coping with inadequate or nonexistent pedagogical and curricular materials, confusion about authority and supervision, and, of course, the individual teacher's own experience of trauma or stress.

Surprisingly, there is a paucity of published material related to the experience of teachers in post-conflict settings. To date, most attention has been given to the macro-level reconstruction of educational systems and strategies for effective projects. Although reconstruction projects often have a teacher training component, there has been little qualitative inquiry into teachers' perceptions of such training and their work in schools in the wake of crises. There is a story waiting to be told.

Adult mentors, including teachers, can serve an important role in buffering the hardships of social conflict for children. Teachers in Bosnia's war-time schools were often called "children's generals." Reflecting on the commitment of Bosnian teachers to continue working and serving in the teeth of horrendous conditions, McClure writes:

> *Bosnian teachers, faced with the loss of school buildings, taught in basements. Faced with the loss of electricity, water, and heat, they taught with flashlights, creating books with special paper that could be used in dim light. Teachers in Gorazde, faced with violent sieges aimed to disrupt schools and civil life, gathered children in the streets after a shelling to sing songs and play music. The real heroics of Bosnian teachers remind the rest of the world of what it too often forgets: that children are precious gifts that civil societies must protect (1998, p. 15).*

In this section, we include a description of Project DiaCom, an effort to bring Serb and Bosniak (Muslim) teachers together for inter-ethnic dialogue across the deep divisions engendered by the Bosnian war. The description is written by Paula Green, director of the Karuna Center for Peacebuilding. This article is followed by a brief reflection by Lynn Cohen on the expansion of teachers' roles in Bosnia, part of a larger discussion of the impact of the prolonged civil conflict on Bosnian schools. These pieces are followed by a discussion of the process of dialogue and the complex role of teachers in building a new future for children.

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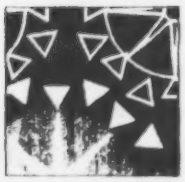

FOR A FUTURE TO BE POSSIBLE:
Bosnian Dialogue in the Aftermath of War[1]

By Paula Green

The Bosniak women wanted to reconnect with their neighbors as a cautious first step toward repatriation.

Three years ago, shortly after the cessation of the Bosnian War, I was pulled to Bosnia by the determination and vision of a Bosniak (Muslim)[2] female refugee. With the aid of a translator shouting over the static of a Bosnian phone connection, Emsuda implored me to share my skills as a healer and peacebuilder with the women of northwestern Bosnia. "Please come to Bosnia. Help us rebuild our lives."

Karuna Center for Peacebuilding provides education and training in conflict transformation, reconciliation, and nonviolent social change. We often work with communities in transition and in regions torn by war and violence. To operate respectfully and in partnership, we enter other cultures and conflicts carefully. Emsuda's invitation matched our mandate. Her connection to organizations close to our vision, such as the Fellowship of Reconciliation, paved the way for our first 1997 trip. Our hearts responded to Bosnia. Our experiences there reinforced our decision to engage.

In the years since, Karuna Center has developed Projekt Dijakom, the Project for Dialogue and Community-Building, offering education and training in partnership with the Foundation for Community Encouragement (FCE), a Seattle-based NGO. FCE community-building leader Ann Hoewing and I currently facilitate seminars for educators three times yearly in two Bosnian cities: one Bosniak, the other Serb. Each trip to Bosnia includes dialogue workshops, follow-through conversations with former participants, meetings with educational administrators, and vigilant crisis management.

The work that Karuna Center offers in Bosnia has evolved over the years as we closely follow the pace and guidance of our local partners. From an early emphasis on trauma healing and organizational development with Bosniak female leaders, our participants asked us to help them contact their former friends and colleagues: Serb women currently living across the official Inter-Entity Boundary Line. The Bosniak women wanted to reconnect with their neighbors as a cautious first step toward repatriation.

The paired cities, Bosniak Sanski Most and Serbian Prijedor, with a combined population of about 160,000, once housed Serbs and Bosniaks, plus a smaller percentage of Croats, without regard to ethnicity. Under Tito, ethnic identity became a relic from the past, replaced with brotherhood and unity, his slogan for a united Yugoslavia. In fact, participants

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[1] Excerpted from an article published in *Peacework*, November 1999, p. 4–6. Available at www.afsc.org/pwork/1199/119904.htm.

[2] Throughout, the term "Bosniak" is used to refer to Bosnian Muslims.

report that examining past history, especially past hatreds and atrocities, was a punishable offense. During the 1992–95 Bosnian war, however, with Tito dead and Milosevic in command, Prijedor was "ethnically cleansed" of Bosniaks, who faced expulsion, incarceration in camps, or death. Many of those Bosniaks who survived currently live in Sanski Most, just 36 kilometers away from land that may have belonged to their families for generations. As the war came to a close, Serbs living in the ethnically-mixed Sanski Most region also lost their ancestral homes as they fled to Prijedor in the Republika Srpska to live in safety with other Serbs.

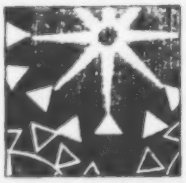
Criminality and brutality took hold in Prijedor as they did elsewhere in former Yugoslavia. Homes were pillaged and dynamited, mosques decimated, livestock and farmlands destroyed. Worse still, Prijedor gained a reputation for operating concentration camps early in the Bosnian war. Some Bosniak participants in our inter-ethnic seminars are survivors of those camps in Omarska, Trnopolje, and Keraterm. With this history, with this house-by-house destruction of people and property, why would the Bosniak women seek out their Serb neighbors? And why would they want to reside there again, among the ruins and ghosts?

Unlike most Americans, Bosnians live deeply rooted in family, land, and place. Homes are often multi-generational, expanding to accommodate new members and handed down through the years. Refugee Bosnians in our groups actively fantasized reclaiming and rebuilding their beloved homesteads. Despite the tragedy, or in defiance of the tragedy, their vision of return kept hope alive through the years of exile and grief. The Bosniak women now hoped that dialogue with Serb women would help them understand the havoc. Perhaps dialogue would ease their way home.

After careful reflection, we agreed to meet with Serb women in Prijedor to explore bi-communal dialogue. However, very few Serb women would risk encountering the Bosniaks. We imagine that the danger was too great both in terms of physical safety and emotional self-protection. Many women likely stood aside as the violence escalated; few risked their own lives to become rescuers. Now Serb women were being invited to an impossible conversation, and most declined.

A few brave Serb women, however, participated in a five-day dialogue group. The women on both sides were fragile and overwhelmed by emotions. They did their best to create bonds of empathy based on their mutual despair, common history as Yugoslavs, and shared fate as female victims of a war they did not invite and could not control. Out of their concern for the next generation, they suggested that we work with Bosniak and Serb educators, whose attitudes and behaviors will partially determine the success of future repatriation and the reintegration of communities.

Their advice led to the development of Projekt Dijakom for educators from Prijedor and Sanski Most. We secured endorsements from the ministers of education of the two political



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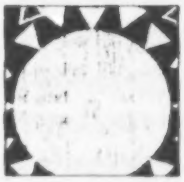

The long-term goals of Projekt Dijakom include sensitizing a significant number of educators in the two school districts in multi-cultural tolerance and socially responsible behaviors, so as to make repatriation possible for those Bosniak and Serb families who wish to return home.

entities, Republika Srpska and Bosnian Federation, so that Projekt Dijakom would be protected by official recognition and sanction. Initially, educators participated hesitantly, but their mission in shaping the future provided a common frame for building relationships.

We have now facilitated seven inter-ethnic educators' seminars, with more on the horizon in coming years. Each dialogue seminar lasts three to five days and welcomes about 25 educators, a mix of Serb and Bosniak teachers, school counselors, and administrators, both new and returning participants. We have also started our first training seminar to prepare a selected group of Serb and Bosniak educators as future project leaders and dialogue facilitators. Responsibility for Projekt Dijakom will shift to local facilitators as they strengthen their ability to confront their deeply conflicted identities, prejudices, and post-traumatic war wounds.

Each inter-ethnic gathering of educators feels like another small miracle to me. Remembering their extremely recent history, I can hardly imagine how we can sit in the circle together, let alone conduct rational conversations.

But we do, step by step, despite denial, revisionist history, blame, and evasion, let alone multiple traumas and unprocessed grief. Each day of the workshop we remain in dialogue, facing the past in order to have a future, and learning the theories and skills of communication and peacebuilding.

The long-term goals of Projekt Dijakom include sensitizing a significant number of educators in the two school districts in multi-cultural tolerance and socially responsible behaviors, so as to make repatriation possible for those Bosniak and Serb families who wish to return home. We hope participants will use their communication and conflict resolution skills to address past injustices and perceptions of history, strengthen cross-border cooperation, and promote what we have named "welcoming schools."

Our teaching methods are participatory and innovative. Accustomed to traditionally structured classrooms, teachers sometimes replicate our democratic and collaborative styles in their classrooms. We present issues of group process and civic responsibility new to Bosnians educated under Yugoslavia's communism. After my presentation of the cycles of violence and reconciliation at a recent workshop, a Serb teacher commented that these concepts ought to be taught on Serbian television.

Workshops are designed to provide a safe container for the wide spectrum of feelings present in the group. We observe participants testing safety, becoming vulnerable, and self-disclosing as they feel trust. Slowly, Serbs and Bosniaks who have segregated themselves begin ethnically mixed conversations, acknowledging together the enormous post-war problems and the long road toward restoration and healing.

We pay close attention to the rhythms of the group, shifting our agendas to match their emerging needs. Often a crisis erupts, challenging us to design an intervention on the spot. The group crisis may be a sharp expression of ethnic prejudice or blame, an issue of member dominance or withdrawal, an inappropriate verbal attack, or a dispute about history and memory. Each crisis becomes an opportunity to examine issues of individual and collective authority and responsibility in Bosnia, critical concerns in this postwar period of establishing civil society.

We encourage participants to have a dialogue rather than a debate, to accept divergent perspectives, to identify both common ground and differences, to soften rhetoric and emphasize feelings, to behave respectfully, and to address past issues with as much honesty as they can manage. We alternate the focus between their responsibilities as educators for modeling tolerance and their roles as human beings caught in their own process of grief, rage, prejudice, and fear. Although it is emotionally safer for participants to focus on their dilemmas as educators outside the dialogue group, we observe how much learning develops in each moment of contact between Serb and Bosniak group members.

We know that fear, hurt, and historical grievances fuel communal aggression. Deeply wounded people often become caught in cycles of anger and grievance fueled by ideology and mythology. Politicians and media play on these historical memories, contributing to endless cycles of revenge and counter-violence. All of these wounds, beliefs, myths, and traumas are present in the dialogue. As facilitators we must be allies to Bosniaks and Serbs, encouraging them to recognize the suffering of others and to express their own needs in ways that do not perpetuate revenge. At the same time, we must guard against denial or revisionism about the Bosnian War, in which not all suffering was equal and where there were victims and perpetrators, rescuers and bystanders.

Movement toward a well-rooted and sustainable peace in Bosnia calls for a transformation in the severed relationships between the ethnic groups. Without that, the Dayton Accords and other official agreements will continue to be sabotaged by the people. Postwar changes in attitudes and behaviors require conscious intention and continuous reinforcement to counteract patterns of hatred, blame, and counter-violence. Strategies like sustained dialogue encourage and reinforce the shifts required to establish new social behaviors. Educators represent a critical sector within Bosnian society. We know their acceptance of each other as Serbs and Bosniaks in northwest Bosnia is crucial to a sane future for this region. We also acknowledge that their tragic history makes every inter-ethnic conversation an act of courage and an experience of grace.

As we reflect on the series of seminars already completed and look toward the next two years of continued dialogue and community-building, we see both positive and challenging patterns. Plagued by their traumas, histories, and current nationalist mythologies, defensiveness falls away slowly and unevenly. We have no yardstick to measure the pace

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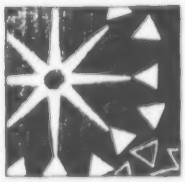
of progress, nor can we account for the myriad social pressures within families and communities that press against change. From our own experiences as Americans we recognize the tenacity of racism and prejudice in the individual and collective psyche. Thus we note and affirm each positive shift of attitude, deviation from dominant ideology, and gesture of warmth and reconciliation. Despite the slow pace and backsliding, there are triumphs. "Graduates" of our program have initiated an inter-ethnic educators' group and enthusiastically teach newly acquired skills to students and colleagues. In the future, as families repatriate in both directions, we know that educators from Projekt Dijakom will reach out their hands in welcome, modeling a future where conflicts are transformed by dialogue, kindness, and mutual respect.

GIVING VOICE TO LOCAL PRACTITIONERS[3]

By Lynn Cohen



In this section, I attempt to emphasize a different approach to assessing assistance for education in complex emergencies and to give a more personal testimony. Rather than just looking through the lens and experience of an international relief practitioner, I would like to provide an insight through the plight of the Bosnian teachers. In this way, I differentiate between international relief practitioners from other countries who provide technical expertise and assistance during an emergency and local practitioners/professionals from the country in crisis who remain, adapt, and provide their own response. In the process of looking at the experiences of local practitioners during an emergency, issues related to assistance in the post-emergency period are addressed.

To do this, I have raised the following questions:

- To what extent is assistance to education critical in a complex emergency?
- To what extent should assistance in education go beyond providing basic supplies to providing training programs that consider both immediate and longer-term needs?
- Who should be involved in making decisions regarding the kind of assistance to be provided?

It is argued that understanding is embedded in the experiences of those most affected by a complex emergency. Thus, priorities for assistance identified by local practitioners provide a critical source of knowledge that should inform decision-making within international relief agencies. This points to the need in a complex emergency to give a stronger voice to local practitioners. While this chapter is specific to the context of education in Bosnia where local educators continue to work through fragile, but still functioning, educational governance structures, these questions have implications for other contexts.

During the war, teachers, like many educators serving in various capacities throughout the system, made conscious decisions to keep schools functioning. They expressed a powerful belief that education was one of the foundations of life in a stable society and should remain so in time of war. Even if the structure and content of the education system

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[3] Excerpted from Cohen, L. (1998). "Aid to Education in the Bosnian Complex Emergency: Giving Voice to Local Practitioners." In G. Retamal and R. Aideo-Richmond (Eds.) *Education as a Humanitarian Response* (pp. 142--151). London: Cassell. The Continuing International Publishing Group. Reprinted with permission of the publisher.

would be forced to change in order to accommodate an often brutal and dangerous environment, schools in some form would continue to be a source of stability

Teachers could no longer rely on a pre-war educational structure that mandated what, where, and how to teach. Traditional sources of authority could no longer provide the level of financial, material, and intellectual support and, therefore, the level of guidance that existed before the war. In some cases, even those who were mobilized to teach had no formal teacher education training. They had to depend on their teaching instincts. To maintain educational provision, they had to improvise and innovate out of necessity. Therefore, in many ways, decisions about what to do in a school, including what should be the structure of a school under conflict, fell on these individual teachers. Teachers became *school-makers* in ways that before April 1992 seemed unimaginable.

To respond to the emergent needs of children during the war, Bosnian teachers were forced to reconsider not only their educational practice but also the role and function of schools at war.

As Garman and Piantanida (1995) write, "in times of social upheaval or crisis. . .teachers are called upon to broaden their vision of their role. As traditional school infrastructures disintegrate, teachers find themselves in the position of school-making." By school-making, these authors refer to the ability of teachers to develop approaches to the design and orientations of the learning environment so as to address the critical needs of children experiencing profound crisis and upheaval in their lives. To respond to the emergent needs of children during the war, Bosnian teachers were forced to reconsider not only their educational practice but also the role and function of schools at war.

As school-makers in a complex emergency, Bosnian teachers were in a position to articulate what kind of assistance they needed from international relief agencies to support their work. To underscore the importance of assistance to education in emergency and to begin to provide a space for reflection and to give a voice to local practitioners, the responses of Bosnian teachers were put forward during training seminars organized by UNICEF and the University of Pittsburgh. Of particular importance was the dialogue that took place in July 1995 with Bosnian teachers and teacher educators from the canton of Zenika, located in central Bosnia. This event was organized in co-operation with the local Pedagogical Institute and Pedagogical Academy. The training program in active learning was designed as a follow-up to recommendations from the first assessment conference on the status of education and effects of the war, held in Sarajevo in November of 1994.

On that occasion, the Ministry of Education identified training programs for teachers as a priority. Many educators throughout Bosnia had expressed their concern about the ability of teachers to cope with the changing conditions of schools and the emergent learning and psychological needs of children during the war. It was reported that the education system had functioned, in some cases, due to the commitment and sheer will-power of teachers: educational resources had been scarce, school buildings had been destroyed, and children exhibited behavioral problems and stress uncommon under normal conditions. Salaries for teachers were nonexistent and schools had to undertake many different functions.

Activities designed to give a voice to teachers as they cope and respond to complex emergencies raise questions for future discussions and research. These activities pose questions about the role and importance of education in civil society. Participant Bosnian teachers, including those who became teachers during the war, identified assistance in education as a critical priority. They exhibited a profound commitment by continuing to teach, often under extremely chaotic conditions. While the crisis in education was not as visible as that in the health sector, for most practicing teachers the emergency was real and related to the immediate and long-term psychological and spiritual survival of a generation of children and young adults. However, Bosnian teachers, even in the middle of an intense war, retained a vision of the future. As reported during these seminars, this vision included maintaining an education system as much as possible, even if rooms or classrooms were destroyed and educational materials were nonexistent. To teachers, as well as other committed educators, maintaining schools not only meant that children could learn during the war, but also that some sense of normalcy could remain in children's lives even in the midst of social, economic, and political upheaval.

This dialogue among local practitioners helped to make clear that, during a complex emergency, the role and function of schooling expands, as does the role of teachers. Bosnian educators from pedagogical institutes became school-makers in ways that never seemed imaginable before 1992. Their efforts were not only to provide support to schools, but also to support training programs that enhanced the capacity of untrained teachers to meet the new challenges and the emergent needs of students.

Too often, the testimonies of local practitioners, their coping mechanisms, and the provision of adapted responses to the educational challenges are left out of the process of assistance in complex emergencies. The UNICEF/University of Pittsburgh program, by creating the conditions of a timely dialogue among educators in Bosnia-Herzegovina under the conditions of war, has contributed to the important need to collect and document the testimonies and voices of local practitioners in order to better understand their priorities, needs, and experiences for the reconstruction of a viable future education system.

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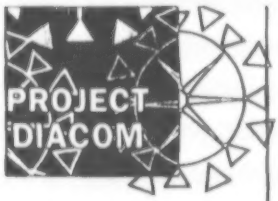

Discussion

In troubled times, teachers can be a cornerstone of child protection and positive social change. Teachers have a direct impact on the lives of the children they teach, and they have a key role in shaping the climate of their schools as well as the values and discourses of their communities. As Green (1999) points out, teachers can help create the social fabric of tolerance that enables displaced families to return home and live amicably beside former enemies. By modeling processes of trust-building and nonviolent conflict resolution, Project DiaCom involves teachers in a deep experiential learning activity that informs their teaching and behavior with family, friends, and others.

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Building Trust

Most crisis settings involve deep, overlapping social cleavages. Dialogue between groups is a crucial dimension of the recovery process. There are some core principles suggested in the work of Project DiaCom that may be useful to dialogue projects elsewhere. First, dialogue cannot be forced. Participants must come to it voluntarily, when they are ready to begin listening to the experience of the other group. Reconciliation must be a local agenda; outsiders cannot demand it. Reconciliation efforts that are undertaken too quickly by international agencies may have the unfortunate consequence of increasing tensions (Maynard, 1999).

Further, dialogue develops slowly. Before moving to more difficult topics, Green invites participants to discuss themes of common interest such as hopes for their children. Such conversations are relatively safe, and they affirm common concerns in ways that lay the foundation for reconciliation. Participants build trust with each other as their sense of security grows. Such trust enables greater vulnerability, which, in turn, can support deeper dialogue.

Sustained inter-ethnic dialogue also requires support from local authorities. As did the developers of the Butterfly Garden in Sri Lanka, the leaders of Project DiaCom discussed their work with local stakeholders and gained official sanction before the project began. Doing so gave the dialogue a professional legitimacy that encouraged teachers' engagement.

Understanding Violence

Another important aspect of Green's work is that she uses conceptual models about the cyclical nature of violence that shed light on what Bosnia has suffered. Gaining such comprehension can demystify the experience and provide insight into how the cycle can be broken. Helping traumatized people realize that they are not alone, that others have experienced similar patterns of violence, can change the meaning of the experience. Conceptual understanding of the origins and dynamics of social violence helps people feel reconnected with humanity and may also humanize perpetrators (Staub and Perlman, 2001).

Project DiaCom functions as a kind of peace education program for teachers themselves. Analyzing the conflict with new conceptual tools helps teachers engage with their own ideological positions and the ways in which they may demonize other social groups. They gain a new level of self-awareness—a challenging, but critical aspect of peacebuilding in the long term. For a more peaceful society to arise from violent social conflict, teachers, students, and whole communities need to address how their own beliefs may have contributed to the legitimacy of violence.

Outcomes of the Work

What happens as a result of dialogue, as undertaken in Project DiaCom? Insights from a preliminary evaluation of the project indicate that participating teachers felt their communication skills had improved (Miller, 2000). Respondents reported that they listened more deeply to others. The training also seems to have eased anxiety about being with members of the other group, and it has begun to normalize inter-ethnic contact. One teacher noted that Project DiaCom provided her first opportunity since the war to talk to members of the other group. She experienced a new sense of empathy: "I felt their unhappiness, wish for return, and I do not look at them as aggressors." Some participants felt that the dialogue enabled them to see the possibility of changing hardened ethnic animosities. Yet for some, uncertainties remained about the value of dialogue for affecting structural change.

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The systemic impact of Project DiaCom is limited. Given constraints of time and funding, the dialogue sessions are held only a handful of times each year. Local capacity is beginning to emerge, as Green trains local facilitators who are starting their own dialogue efforts. Yet it is difficult for participants, Green notes, to sustain growth because they are surrounded by blame, fear, and exclusion of the other group in their home environment (Miller, 2000). On its own, the project may not have sufficient strength, from an ecological perspective, to enable lasting change in the lives of teachers. Yet it is a valuable component of a comprehensive effort to support the well-being and dialogue skills of teachers who, in turn, can support the well-being and peace-making capabilities of children.

The participatory pedagogy of the dialogue activity serves as a form of teacher in-service training, enabling teachers to experience new approaches to teaching.[4] The teachers may become better able to work with ethnically-mixed classrooms in "welcoming schools." For these reasons, the work of Project DiaCom might be a model for inclusion in teacher training initiatives in post-conflict settings, particularly those involving inter-ethnic or inter-religious struggles.

[4] Green notes that some school principals are more interested in the project as a vehicle for teacher training than for reconciliation, given the political sensitivities of that issue (Miller, 2000).

Supporting School-makers

The concept of "school-making" highlights the critical role that teachers play in helping children outgrow war. In post-conflict settings, teachers have new responsibilities, and, often, new conviction about the importance of their work for protecting children amid the wreckage around them.

Crises present an opportunity for teachers, in dialogue with parents and students, to take on the role of "school-makers" as used by Cohen. It is a powerful moment for *de facto* decentralization, when former dependency on central authority transforms into reliance on self and immediate community. In such moments, teachers need support in tapping community resources and in tapping their own capacities for resilience and leadership. For agencies involved in educational reconstruction, a key goal should be listening to teachers and supporting their school-making efforts. As Cohen asks, how can teachers be engaged as leaders in dialogue about training needs and reconstruction options? How can agencies involved in educational reconstruction better listen to teachers, as a means of helping communities develop their own positive visions of the future?

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Who Can Teach?

The disruptions caused by crises open up other important questions. First among these may be this: who is a teacher? As reported by Miller-Grandvaux and Moreau (2000), responses to this question vary: some agencies working in post-conflict settings hire community members while others only employ expatriates to restaff schools. There are obviously complexities involved with any answer to this question. Outsiders may have more energy and experience with innovative teaching methods, but they may lack cultural sensitivity and generate new costs.

From a psychosocial perspective, it can be valuable for community members—especially adolescents and women—to have opportunities to work with children as teachers and mentors. Such arrangements can increase the sense of self-esteem for the mentors, while providing a fresh source of connection and resilience for children. Many community members may be capable of helping children learn during various phases of post-conflict reconstruction, and agencies should consider what mechanisms will enable them to do so.

This leads to a general question that all those involved with educational reconstruction should consider: How can crises open possibilities for community members to contribute to schools? New forms of participation for community members in school life can benefit students and community members themselves, providing opportunities to meet the needs for connection and comprehension of reality. Yet such participation may raise other tensions regarding appropriate certification and compensation vis à-vis government trained teachers.

Indeed, innovative approaches to school staffing may create tangled political and administrative problems for education officials. Sustainability becomes a concern: can innovations started under post-crisis conditions be reasonably continued? In several reviews of educational reconstruction principles, sustainability is emphasized as a guiding principle in human resource decisions (Miller-Grandvaux and Moreau, 2000). Involving para-professionals in a teaching staff may raise problems in later stages of reconstruction, if not considered from a long-term perspective. Project designers need to consider how emergency responses and temporary measures will evolve as reconstruction proceeds.

Safeguarding Civility

As was evident in the "school-in-a-box" discussion, the symbolic importance of schooling for reestablishing a sense of normalcy is often emphasized in the post-conflict education literature. The presence of teachers is important to communities as a reminder that civil society has not been destroyed. Writing about Bosnia, McClure describes how teachers, by their very presence, point toward a better future:

> *One of the great lessons Bosnian teachers on all sides of the war have taught the rest of the world is that basic education is more than teaching literacy in school buildings. It is more than a traditional civil service job with a small but steady paycheck. It is more than a new building or a winning athletic team. It is a fundamental moral commitment to the protection of children's futures. This protection lies not in buildings or government mandates but in the civility and resourcefulness of people who chose not to allow their ethnic identities to overwhelm their professional ethics (1998, p. 14).*

It is that same sense of moral commitment to future generations that brought the Bosniak and Serb teachers together in Project DiaCom. They realized that by working on their own emotions of fear and anger, by working on their own struggles with reconciliation, they could better support and mentor children in the skills needed for a multi-cultural society. Although these teachers were not responsible for the war, they took responsibility for promoting peace within their lives and in their teaching.

Teachers have a critical role in post-conflict settings as protectors of social stability and, in a larger sense, as guardians of the future. Listening closely to teachers and supporting their efforts to protect children may be one of the most important actions agencies can make toward helping children outgrow war.

How can teachers be engaged as leaders in dialogue about training needs and reconstruction options? How can agencies involved in educational reconstruction better listen to teachers, as a means of helping communities develop their own positive visions of the future?

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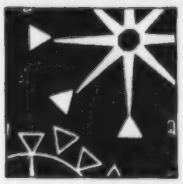


How can crises open possibilities for community members to contribute to schools?

Questions for Use

In your context:

- What motivates teachers to continue their work under harsh conditions?

- To what extent has conflict forced teachers to become school-makers?

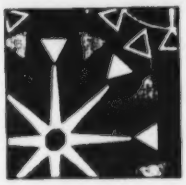
- What leverage do teachers have in supporting reconciliation and dialogue in their communities?

- How well do international agencies listen to local teachers?

- What opportunities do community members have for contributing to local schools?

- How might the Project DiaCom approach be modified to fit local circumstances?

In your context, how do teachers' efforts to maintain schools satisfy basic psychological needs—for children, teachers, and the community?



NEED	Children	Teachers	Community
Security			
Effectiveness			
Positive Identity			
Positive Connection			
Comprehension of Reality			

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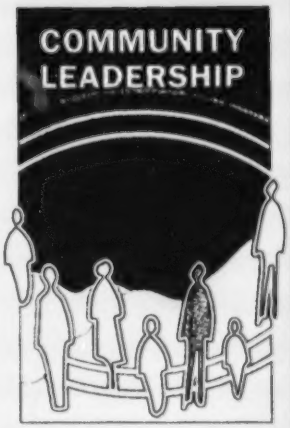
COMMUNITY LEADERSHIP TRAINING: Building Development Capacity after Displacement



Introduction

One of the central themes in post-conflict reconstruction is the importance of the shift from a relief to a development orientation. In most crisis situations, relief efforts focus on short-term needs and tend to neglect capacity-building. They can create dependency among recipients and impatience among donors. Over time, energy for relief runs out and new questions arise: How can displaced communities become self-reliant? How can economic opportunities be created from scratch?

The case that follows describes a community leadership training program that was carried out for NGO employees working with refugee and IDPs (internally-displaced persons) in Azerbaijan in 2000. The case discusses the cultural and psychosocial feasibility of such an undertaking, as well as project design issues that need to be considered by policymakers interested in initiating socio-economic development programs in refugee and IDP communities.

Although it does not involve children directly, this type of initiative illustrates an important dimension of a comprehensive approach to post-conflict reconstruction. By creating opportunities for women and men to feel a greater sense of competence and hope, the project strengthens the support system around children. Educational interventions alone, even broadly conceived, are best accompanied by efforts to build organizational capacity and income-generating possibilities. These efforts help open the long-term horizon of hope that motivates learning and supports well-being.

Educational interventions alone, even broadly conceived, are best accompanied by efforts to build organizational capacity and income-generating possibilities.

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LAUNCHING COMMUNITY MOBILIZATION INITIATIVES AS A STRATEGY FOR STRENGTHENING SOCIAL COHESION: Conclusions from a Learning Experiment[1]

The project aimed to enable 35 women and men working with international and local NGOs, as well as representatives of refugee community boards, to support community leaders in the refugee settlements.

In 2000, the Caucasian Republic of Azerbaijan carried the sad distinction of being one of the countries hosting the highest percentage of refugees or internally displaced people (IDPs) in the world. As a result of the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict in the early 1990s, approximately 1 million Azerbaijanis were forced to relocate into the eastern provinces of the country. Living in humiliating conditions such as tent villages, barracks, offices, boarding schools, and even railway cars, refugees and IDPs continue to await the day when they, perhaps, will be able to return to their western homeland.

In the meantime, Azerbaijani IDPs suffer greatly from the disintegration of their extended family structures. They have experienced the loss of place and personal dignity, as well as the destruction of a sense of community and closeness with other people. They tend to be at risk of, or suffer from, trauma-related psychiatric disorders.

The international NGO community, which had provided relief since the early 1990s, has come to realize that it will no longer be able to continue to provide traditional relief services as it has done in the past. With no end to the conflict in sight, there was little purpose to continue to distribute, year after year, clothing, medicine, or food. It was understood that traditional relief work would only increase refugees'/IDPs' sense of dependency and, at the same time, their resentment against foreign presence and assistance. Because the future prospects of Azerbaijan's refugees/IDPs were unpredictable and possibly void of major opportunities for improvement, many NGOs decided to shift from traditional refugee relief service to the implementation of development-related strategies, such as community mobilization support.

Training for Community Mobilization and Leadership Development

In 1999, USAID entrusted the Academy for Educational Development (AED) with the development of a community leadership training program. AED eventually hired consultants from two American universities to train Azerbaijani NGO extension workers in effective community mobilization and leadership skills. The overall rationale for the project was to contribute to the alleviation of human suffering, as well as the transition of

[1] Based in part on an unpublished report produced by Affolter, F. W. and Findlay, H. J. (2000). "Assessment of Community Mobilization and Leadership Problems and Challenges in Azerbaijani IDP and Refugee Camps." Funded by USAID through the Global Training for Development Project, Baku, Azerbaijan.

war-torn, post-Soviet Azerbaijan into a liberal market-based society, through enhancing grassroots development initiatives in Azerbaijani refugee communities.

Specifically, the project aimed to enable 35 women and men working with international and local NGOs, as well as representatives of refugee community boards, to support community leaders in the refugee settlements. In the end, participants were expected to train community members in the area of community leadership (management, participatory research, conflict resolution, project design, proposal writing, etc.), as a catalyst for community-generated development projects.

The training program consisted of several blocks. The trainees first participated in a two-week seminar to study community leadership and research methods. They also carried out a community needs assessment and then analyzed the resulting data. Eventually they proposed a list of their own training needs.

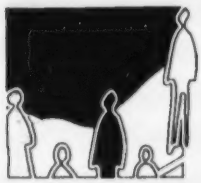
Next, a selected group of Azeri NGO personnel were invited to participate in a four-week training seminar to study participatory research, adult education methods, planning and project design, proposal writing, conflict resolution, lobbying, and networking. Towards the end of this workshop, participants were asked to develop an action plan for stand-up trainings on one or more topics in refugee communities.

Later, participants reconvened for a two-week session that enabled them to complete their training preparations. Participants were video-taped when delivering their practice trainings and given feedback from their mentors.

From then on, participants were expected to continue to provide leadership workshops to interested community members as part of their professional work as NGO employees. They assisted communities in the execution of participatory needs assessments and the drafting of project proposals (as, for example, for the purchase of infrastructure for laying water pipes, building community centers, or starting up micro-businesses such as a vegetable canneries), to be submitted to funding agencies in the Azeri capital, Baku.

This overall process proved to be effective in some areas and ineffective in others. As far as the transfer of training was concerned, most newly trained NGO trainers delivered fairly successful training designs to their colleagues. Indeed, some participants (especially members of rural communities) reported successful workshop deliveries in various refugee camps, which not only produced an enormous boost to their own self-esteem, but also sometimes resulted in finding new employment opportunities. In this sense, the capacity to effectively deliver workshops and training seminars had an empowering effect on the trainees as well as the communities.

Nonetheless, the limited amount of time available for training allowed participants to develop training skills on the basis of only one workshop development experience. There



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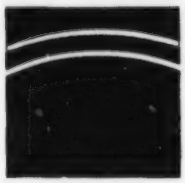


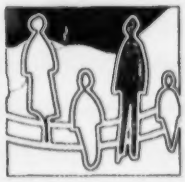
In order to guarantee a more successful transfer of knowledge and skills in these areas, it would have been necessary to provide more time for practice in the workshops, as well as supervised delivery within the communities.

was no continuation or follow up that would have encouraged participants to branch out into other topics and develop a broader resource base of training ideas. Consequently, participants who had focused on conflict resolution continued to address this topic in their work with communities, without ever exploring the delivery of workshops on community needs assessment or project design and proposal writing. And others who had become versatile in community needs assessments and proposal writing were never encouraged to face the challenge of preparing and delivering workshops on conflict resolution.

In order to guarantee a more successful transfer of knowledge and skills in these areas, it would have been necessary to provide more time for practice in the workshops, as well as supervised delivery within the communities—areas that had simply not been budgeted for by the project designers.

Only four teams were ultimately successful in submitting proposals for community development projects, with or on behalf of the IDP communities. Some of those had to be rejected due to weaknesses in the overall project design. The low number may be in part due to the fact that participants had other obligations with their organizations; however, it was also due to the fact that there was not enough opportunity to engage in supervised practice activities in project design and proposal writing.

Discussion



This training experience leads to several insights and recommendations regarding the use of community mobilization training in IDP communities. The discussion that follows will first explore limitations to the effectiveness of the overall project idea. It will then discuss the reasons why community mobilization training can be a means of meeting basic psychological needs and initiating community development for adult participants, as well as the children they care for.

Cultural, Organizational, and Psychosocial Considerations that Make Community Mobilization Initiatives Appear Unfeasible

NGO extension personnel working in IDP and refugee communities encountered a series of obstacles in their efforts to contribute to community mobilization.

1. *"Soviet Style 'Civic Participation.'"* Interested in promoting participatory decision-making and research techniques, extension workers struggled against a Soviet management legacy that, during the past 75 years, had discouraged, if not forbidden, independent grassroots decision-making processes. The citizenry of Azerbaijan as well as other former Soviet member states had been socialized into a pattern of "Soviet style 'civic participation'" that consisted of absolute obedience to vertical administrative structures as well as the loyal execution of committee decisions. Citizens had been trained to rely on the government to provide food, jobs, and housing. To expect that NGO extension workers would be able to quickly undo this mental model of socio-economic dependency was unrealistic.

2. *"Community Leadership, East and West."* It also became questionable whether the term "participatory community mobilization" used by international NGOs corresponded with the cultural understanding or expectations of Azerbaijanis on how decision-making processes in communities ought to be carried out. The term "community leadership," for example, is in itself problematic. "Leadership," when translated into Azeri, does not have the same connotations as it does in Western cultures. Azeri vocabulary has terms for "key people" or "active people" who consult on behalf of the community just as key people in political parties canvass with other key persons. This behind-the-scenes leadership does not necessarily involve seeking consensus for making decisions on behalf of the community.

3. *Loss of Family Networks.* It also became apparent that leaders were not prepared to effectively facilitate "community" change. IDPs themselves did not perceive each other as members of one community. Settlements were an amalgamation of individuals and families that happened to flee different areas of the occupied territories and were grouped together by default.

4. *Intrinsic Motivation.* Finally, NGO extension workers came to recognize an apparent emotional inhibition and apathy on part of many refugee and IDP community members to engage in self-initiated actions geared toward creating a better future

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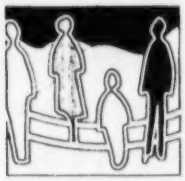

within the squatter settlements. After seven years of waiting under humiliating circumstances in the aftermath of traumatic circumstances (many were driven violently from their homelands), the emotional resources of the IDP groups were often depleted. Families continued to see their children grow up with no opportunities to generate income that would allow them to start their own families. Older parents shared their one-room shelters with their recently married children who lacked the opportunity to obtain their own housing. Health care continued to be unavailable. Unemployment dispirited men even more than women. Signs of social morbidity (abuse, alcoholism, suicide, etc.) were on the increase.

Obviously, refugees and IDPs were interested in working on a better future, but a better future within squatter settlements was, in their eyes, absurd. After all, where they were staying was not their land! Why should they invest in soil that was not even theirs?

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Cultural, Organizational, and Psychosocial Considerations in Favor of Investing in Community Mobilization Initiatives

Despite these challenges of initiating project relationships with refugees and IDPs, there were also strong arguments for mobilizing refugees to undertake community development initiatives.

1. *Dynamics of Structural Change.* The traumatic changes experienced by refugee/IDP communities contributed to a change in traditional perceptions of gender roles and responsibilities. Women began to play an active role in community mobilization and decision-making processes, and in some cases became the officially recognized representatives of their communities. Azerbaijani women frequently turned out to be key collaborators in NGO efforts to improve community infrastructures.

2. *Experiential Learning and Attitudinal Change.* A second argument for the introduction of participatory community mobilization methods was the recognition that participatory community practice enhanced natural experiential learning, which, in turn, facilitated social learning and coping with unaccustomed life situations.

   Hence, engaging community members in participatory project and problem analysis was likely to spark interest in active community development learning, as well as strengthening social cohesion at the local level. Elsewhere it has been argued that enhancing the development of local institutions that give people a voice is a key ingredient for creating the social infrastructure (or local social capital) necessary for developing sustainable problem-solving approaches in post-conflict situations (see Colletta and Cullen, 2000).

3. *Community Mobilization and Healing.* Practices such as participatory research, planning and problem-solving have the potential for helping people overcome trauma, enter a process of healing, and thereby contribute to conflict reduction in the long run. The creation of joint goals and shared efforts creates positive

connections, which in turn may contribute to the satisfaction of basic emotional needs such as security, belonging, and effectiveness. Writing about healing at the community level, Staub (1998) points out:

> *Constructive visions are important. A victim group needs both to engage in the past, in the form of memorials, rituals, grieving, and empathy with themselves, and to look at and move towards the future... A constructive vision of the future that is inclusive, that embraces all segments of society and points to goals around which people can unite, can fulfill basic needs and bring practical fruits (p. 236).*

Community development projects, initiated locally, can help solidify the shared visions that can unite fragmented communities and improve the prospects for lasting peace.

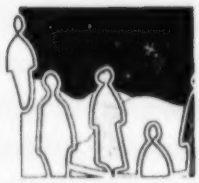
4. *Spill-Over Effects for the Dependents of Project Participants.* Although there is only anecdotal evidence, it is not far-fetched to assume that successful project experiences that respond to the individual and collective needs of refugee communities ultimately also satisfy the emotional needs of children. The successful construction of a school building or a community center as a product of community-spirited action has symbolic value and will be noticed as such by children and others who have not been involved directly, thereby boosting their resilience. Generally, the level of confidence and competence experienced by adults has a profound influence on children's ability to endure the hardships of social displacement.

Training for Community Mobilization: Program Design and Feasibility Considerations

Based on the experience of the community leadership training project in Azerbaijan, the following considerations may be useful for the design of culturally and psychosocially appropriate community mobilization programs elsewhere:

1. *Structure.* It is not realistic to assume that participatory action research knowledge and facilitation skills can be transferred by means of one or two workshop events. Teaching less content in more depth during longer periods of time, interspersed by more frequent field practice and coaching opportunities leads to increased learning impacts and project outcomes.

2. *Supervision and Coaching.* In order to guarantee a successful transfer of knowledge and skills in a community context, the overall project design would have benefited from including at least two pre-financed and supervised community project learning opportunities, where communities and NGO extension workers would plan, implement, and evaluate at least two community-based project cycles. This recommendation rests on the assumption that communities and extension workers need multiple opportunities to experience complete project cycles, thereby building a base of process experiences necessary for successful project completion.



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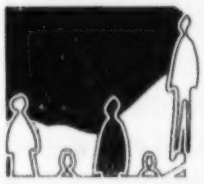

3. *Psychosocial Purpose.* Workshops dedicated to instruct community outreach personnel in participatory techniques predominantly focus on facilitation skills, social research, and perhaps adult pedagogies. Seldom or never do they address the psychosocial benefits of collaborative research and learning. It would be worthwhile to encourage trainees to not only consider the social and psychological implications of participatory action research, but also the psychosocial benefits of planning and working together.

Overall, the Azerbaijan community mobilization experience offers valuable insights into the complexities of participatory work with displaced communities.

Participatory community development efforts can turn out to be strategic tools in helping refugee communities to undertake socio-economic development initiatives, as well as enhance subjective feelings of security, effectiveness, control, and comprehension of community circumstances.

Nonetheless, communities need to be coached for a longer period of time. Their supervisors need to adopt the role of "critical friends" who assist communities' struggles to self-organize, by providing assistance and know-how wherever scaffolding is needed, but by fading out and standing back wherever communities appear able to advance on their own. This cannot be done through training workshops alone, but requires long-term working relationships.

Although a community mobilization program is not directly oriented to supporting the children of the community, it may contribute indirectly to children's socio-emotional well-being, as long as it succeeds in sparking hope, confidence, zest, and satisfaction in the minds and hearts of children's caregivers.

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Questions for Use

In your context:

- What are the expectations and motivations of displaced people regarding community development?

- In what ways might community mobilization training contribute to community development?

- What would be the essential elements of effective community mobilization training for local groups?

- How can women's leadership in local communities be supported?

- What level of commitment with regard to staff and time would be needed for reaching training goals?

- What conditions might limit the efficacy of such training?

Grassroots development initiatives provide a context to support the healing and learning that help children outgrow war.

In your context, how could community mobilization training satisfy basic psychological needs—for children, trainees, and the community?

NEED	Children	Trainees	Community
Security			
Effectiveness			
Positive Identity			
Positive Connection			
Comprehension of Reality			

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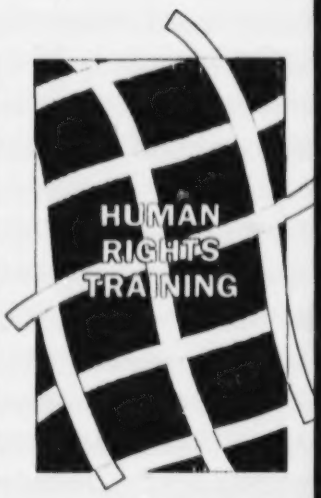
HUMAN RIGHTS TRAINING: Learning to Defend Dignity



Introduction

Even after large-scale violence ends and major crises seem to have been resolved, abuses of human dignity often continue in societies that have endured social chaos. Children may be beaten by parents; women may be abused by men; and armed groups may continue sporadic acts of terror. Because of their diffuse and localized nature, such violations of human rights may not garner the attention of relief and development agencies. As life in post-conflict areas enters rehabilitation and recovery phases—returning to normal from the perspective of government and civil society—it remains important for people to have opportunities to learn about their rights and share their stories as a means of healing and preventing further violence in their home environments.

The Peruvian Institute for Education in Human Rights and Peace (IPEDEHP) has developed a successful approach to human rights training, building on a basis of psychological sensitivity and participatory pedagogy. Their training has proven especially helpful in building community cohesion in areas that have suffered social violence.

The following case study of the IPEDEHP training is adapted from a case study prepared by Marcia Bernbaum based on research conducted in 1998.[1] The case is followed by a discussion of the training approach and the impact of the training on selected community leaders.[2]

Although this program does not involve children directly, it focuses on the protection of human rights in families and communities, the immediate environments in which children develop. Creating an environment around children in which violence is not tolerated and human rights are actively defended is a necessary complement to child-centered projects in an ecologically-oriented approach to helping children outgrow war.

Creating an environment around children in which violence is not tolerated and human rights are actively defended is a necessary complement to child-centered projects in an ecologically-oriented approach to helping children outgrow war.

[1] Based on the case study, a group known as Psychologists for Social Responsibility awarded IPEDEHP their annual award for "Building Cultures of Peace" in 1999 (Bernbaum, personal communication, January 2002).

[2] For her report, Bernbaum interviewed 20 participants, their families, and members of their communities. This study was not intended to be a program evaluation, rather, it was intended to show the impact the program could have on participants. Thus, Bernbaum deliberately focused on those participants who applied what they learned in their home communities. (Approximately 40 percent of trainees are not active in follow-up.)

WEAVING TIES OF FRIENDSHIP, TRUST, AND COMMITMENT TO BUILD DEMOCRACY AND HUMAN RIGHTS[3]

Over a three-day period participants are introduced to basic concepts of human rights, democracy, citizen participation, and interactive training methodologies that they can take back to their communities.

Background

Starting in the early 1980s and well into the 1990s Peru was rocked by violence from terrorists, drug traffickers, and the Peruvian military. Between 1980 and 1994, this violence left 25,000 Peruvians dead and thousands of innocent people imprisoned under suspicion of being terrorists. Over 6,000 people disappeared and hundreds of thousands of families were displaced. The social fabric in areas where terrorism was at its peak was disrupted as community leaders were systematically murdered. At the same time the Peruvian economy suffered a decline that had no equal in the rest of Latin America. In 1989 the minimum wage in Peru purchased 23 percent of what it could in 1980.

From this context, the Peruvian Institute for Education in Human Rights and Peace (IPEDEHP) emerged. The institute is composed of a group of educators, with backgrounds working in the Ministry of Education and in popular education, who met through their common interest in human rights as members of Amnesty International in the early 1980s. For its first 10 years IPEDEHP focused on teachers who had been particularly affected by the violence. Recognizing that the teachers were themselves key targets (both on the part of the terrorists and the military), IPEDEHP began its training with games and other activities that helped teachers, in a neutral atmosphere, to deal with the trauma they were experiencing and to prepare for practicing human rights and democracy in their classrooms.

In 1996, building on a decade of experience providing training in human rights and democracy to teachers, the institute extended its program to community leaders. With financing from USAID in Peru it designed a course for community leaders in human rights, democracy, and citizen participation entitled: "You Have Rights: Know Them, Defend Them, Promote Them."

Course Description

The course is brief and intensive. Over a three-day period participants are introduced to basic concepts of human rights, democracy, citizen participation, and interactive training methodologies that they can take back to their communities.

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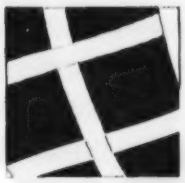
[3] Adapted from Bernbaum, M. (1999). "Weaving Ties of Friendship, Trust, and Commitment to Build Democracy and Human Rights in Peru." Available at www.human-rights.net/IPEDEHP/study_english.

The training is designed to evoke memories and laughter in ways that connect participants to their own knowledge of human rights—and connect them to each other. The training activities include games, skits, and discussions of personal experiences. A game might ask participants to, for example, recall a time in childhood when they cried or felt afraid of terrorism. The activities are intended to draw out strong emotions and memories, as a means of engaging participants deeply and continuing the process of healing from social violence.



Sample Game: The Road to Diagnosis

This game was initially developed by IPEDEHP during the 1980s for use with teachers. Its objective is to provide participants with an opportunity to not only learn what their rights are, but—in a therapeutic environment—to openly share feelings and experiences from the worst years of the violence that gripped Peru.

This is a table game that consists of a game board, cards, dice, and pawns that each person moves according to the number he/she rolls on the dice. If the person lands on a yellow space that says, "Breaking the Ice," the person has to take a yellow card and carry out the instructions on it. Some examples are: "Dance with a companion in your group while the others sing a song"; "Make a proclamation in favor of peace"; and "Hug the person on your left."

If the person lands on a pink space with a question mark, he/she must take a card and respond aloud to the question asked on it. For example, "Do you think there are still cases of torture in Peru? Do you know a case? Tell about it"; "When you were a child, were you ever scared?"; and "Do you think boys and girls are alike? How?"

If the player lands on a light blue space that says, "Say it in a Few Words," he/she has to take a light blue card, read it aloud to the group, and then each person has to give a response. For example: "Do men have the right to hit women?"; "Tell of a time when you cried as a child"; and "If you had complete power, what would you do?"

At the end of the game, players talk with each other about what they learned. During the plenary session that follows, they share what they learned with other groups and how they felt playing the game. They also discuss possible applications of the game in their home communities.

The training process as a whole includes self-reflection alongside social analysis. Participants begin by examining themselves: the extent to which they are behaving in a democratic manner in their households and communities and the extent to which they are upholding basic human rights. It is only after they have looked at themselves and their own behavior that they can begin to look outside to see how democracy and rights are being practiced in their communities and in Peru in general.

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The training uses as a point of departure the premise that all participants come with a rich and diverse background of knowledge and experiences that must be tapped throughout the course.

The training uses as a point of departure the premise that all participants come with a rich and diverse background of knowledge and experiences that must be tapped throughout the course. While attending the course, participants acquire knowledge of human rights and democracy by sharing their own experiences. It is only after building their own concepts based on their collective experiences that they are introduced to the theory behind these concepts and what the official legal instruments (Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Peruvian Constitution, etc.) have to say about human rights. Upon completing the course they return to their communities to apply what they have learned in accord with the needs and realities of their communities.

During the course, participants are given materials that will enable them to share their learning with others. This toolkit is designed to be immediately useful to participants when they return to their communities. It contains copies of the human rights and democracy games they have played, along with an easy-to-use methodological guide and a summary of the principals underlying the training methodology. These materials enable trainees to facilitate the games, role-plays, and small group discussions they have experienced. The toolkit also contains reference materials on human rights, including a set of guidelines on various rights and what should be done when they are violated.

Course graduates, regardless of location and education level, report that they are able to use the toolkit to replicate the three-day training course in their communities. Individuals involved in mass media find the materials of great assistance in designing and delivering radio and television programs focusing on human rights and democracy.

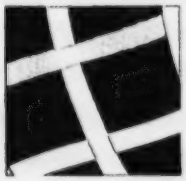
During the third and final morning of the training, participants form groups according to home region, and each group prepares a work plan for implementing what they learned at the course when they return home. The course also involves presentations by national human rights institutions, such as the National Coordinator on Human Rights. Representatives of these institutions encourage participants to promote human rights in their communities and contact them for support.

Course Strengths

One of the strengths of the program is the diversity of participants. Their social positions vary widely: from a lawyer with a masters degree who was already actively involved in defending human rights when she came to the course, to teachers, and to campesino leaders (women and men) who live in isolated areas and who have less than a primary education.

Everybody gets something out of the training course. Some acquire, for the first time, knowledge of what their legal rights are and what democracy is; while for others the course provides an opportunity to update their existing concepts on human rights and democracy. Everybody acquires skills in applying interactive training methodologies that

make them more effective training multipliers when they return to their communities. New friendships are made, often with people that the leaders would never otherwise have had an opportunity to meet.



Besides building solidarity among participants, the training process is designed to build cohesion at an organizational level.[4] IPEDEHP works with local organizations to prepare for the training sessions. Long before the course is delivered in a given area of the country, IPEDEHP enters into an agreement with counterpart organizations at the community level to identify leaders in their communities and motivate them to replicate what they have learned after receiving the training. Representatives of the counterpart organizations attend the IPEDEHP training course with the community leaders. This way, IPEDEHP strengthens local organizations and helps build ties between them and community leaders.

Besides building solidarity among participants, the training process is designed to build cohesion at an organizational level.

Trainees are not abandoned after the course concludes. As a Peruvian priest who has been affiliated with IPEDEHP since its inception described it, "The three day course is the spark that ignites the motor. The gasoline (follow-up) is added once the car gets on the road."

In order to augment the impact of the training, IPEDEHP—in close coordination with its counterpart organizations—provides active follow up for community leaders consisting of a one-day session three months after the initial training, annual meetings, and a bulletin issued every two months. These mechanisms serve as an important networking device that keeps community leaders connected with human rights organizations. They also provide participants with an opportunity to reflect on their successes and challenges and to receive new information on human rights and democracy.

In sum, there are several features of IPEDEHP's training program for community leaders in human rights, democracy, and citizen participation that make it stand out:

- All learning is built upon and closely linked to the participants' daily lives.
- The practice of human rights and democracy begins from within.
- IPEDEHP's training program is highly interactive.
- The course involves more than just a one-shot training experience.
- Community leaders leave the course with a practical and easy to use toolkit of materials to guide the application of what they learned in the course once they return to their communities.

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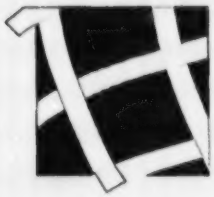
[4] One year after its founding in 1986, IPEDEHP took a leadership role in building a Peruvian human rights network. This network, which IPEDEHP continues to nurture, involves some 70 organizations that work in human rights throughout Peru.



Participants engage deeply with IPEDEHP's human rights training course because it touches upon issues of immediate and profound significance in their lives. Course activities draw out memories, passions, anxieties, and ethical commitments. Such engagement takes place within a secure, affirming context, thereby contributing to participants' own healing from past victimization. At the same time, the training fosters critical thinking about human rights abuses in Peru and practical means for defending human dignity. The training and subsequent follow-up activities enable community leaders to make the link between knowledge of human rights and their protection.

As an organization, IPEDEHP itself works in a highly reciprocal manner, building ties of friendship and trust with other groups. It freely gives away its training materials and methods, while receiving support from local organizations in the selection of community leaders and in follow-up work. This level of reciprocity forms an important basis for sustaining democracy, democracy built on respect for human rights.

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Discussion

The "You Have Rights" program is a subtle approach to social change, generating far-reaching impacts fueled by participants' desire to protect their own and others' human rights. With support from IPEDEHP, participants often replicate the human rights training course in their home communities. At a meeting held in 1998 of representatives of community leaders trained by IPEDEHP, it was found that 256 trainees had conducted workshops for some 5,400 people on human rights themes.

Learning Multiplied

In addition to replicating the course, participants have found other creative means of sharing their learning. Some participants have started radio programs about human rights, others have led human rights marches, organized community-based committees for human rights issues, and even started shelters for abused women. Many community leaders have provided advice for friends and neighbors on how to defend their rights. Trainees often find multiple ways of integrating human rights concerns into their lives as community leaders.

The games played during the training function as a catalyst for ongoing learning. Bernbaum found that the first thing that most of the community leaders did upon returning to their communities was to play the human rights and democracy games with their families. And their family members, in turn, played the games with others: younger children played the games with classmates, playmates, and teachers; spouses and friends shared their knowledge with colleagues and peers. In this way, the training did not seem to lose strength as it rippled outward. Family members often developed the same enthusiasm for the games as did the original participants.

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Participants in the IPEDEHP training were selected based on demonstrated community leadership and intention to share their learning with others. Nevertheless, the ways in which the course content spread throughout communities and families is impressive. In other cases highlighted in this guidebook, such as the emergency education kits, the use of the pre-made materials themselves are the focus of training, and the lived experience of trainees is a marginal concern. In the IPEDEHP training, however, pre-made materials are secondary to the lived experience of trainees.

This difference may help explain why the materials are used enthusiastically by many IPEDEHP trainees. Their personal experience of reflection, creativity, and connection with others propels the use of the materials—a depth of feeling rarely achieved by standard training in the use of ready-made materials.

Bernbaum reports this observation from the husband of a woman who attended the course:

> *She brought the materials from the course. They looked like they were games for children. But it wasn't that way. One learns through playing. We played the games with our neighbors. Some had questions. My wife helped us to understand the game and its significance. Our neighbors now know that if they have problems in the future they can go to my wife in order to learn what institutions they should go to. Our neighbors now comment that there is something to learn in my house (1999, p. 47).*

As participants bring games home and play them with others, interest in human rights issues spreads. As the quote above illustrates, this process led to the subtle transformation of the participant and her house as a recognized site of learning in their neighborhood. Being recognized as knowledgeable about human rights and committed to human rights protection gives trainees an added sense of esteem as well as a new stature in their communities.

In the IPEDEHP approach, the diffusion of knowledge and skills is organic, relying on the power of the human rights issues, the commitment of the community leaders, and the appeal of the activities to spread.

This dynamic contrasts with cascade models of large-scale training in which successive layers of training sessions are organized for broad diffusion of desired skills. In the IPEDEHP approach, the diffusion of knowledge and skills is organic, relying on the power of the human rights issues, the commitment of the community leaders, and the appeal of the activities to spread. Such an approach to "scaling up" is less systematic than cascade models, but it may be more sustainable, and certainly allows greater space for individual creativity. The organization attempts to support what participants themselves wish to do with their learning, rather than compelling them to follow-up in a prescribed form.

Building Confidence and Respect

In her interviews with community leaders who had chosen to follow up on their learning, Bernbaum found that the personal impact of the training was strong. Especially among female trainees, the course resulted in an increase in tolerance and self-esteem. For 5 of the 11 women interviewed, the IPEDEHP course was experienced as a turning point in their lives. The course enabled them to realize their dignity and gain a fresh sense of equality with others, leading in many cases to better relationships with their families. As one ally of the program told Bernbaum, "The IPEDEHP training course returns you to yourself. It is precisely because it returns you to yourself that you can open to others in another way" (1999, p. 52).

This kind of impact is reflected in a woman's comments about her experience of the course:

> *It was something new. Before we didn't know anything about our rights. We suffered personal and social abuses. The course dynamics helped us to relate to one another. We became closer, we trust one another. At the end I felt different, more motivated. I felt more protected as*

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I knew how to defend my rights. I told my husband about what I had learned in the course and he didn't like it. At the beginning he didn't want me to go to the Human Rights Committee meetings, but I didn't stop going. I always speak of our rights. Little by little he is changing. We no longer hit our children. We speak to them as equals (1999, p. 55).

This quote demonstrates the value of the program for improving the family environment in which children grow. The trainee's growing confidence in asserting her rights has expanded into a commitment to protect the rights of others, including her children.

This observation also suggests the efficacy of an approach to healing that is less explicitly therapeutic than other interventions in post-conflict settings. The expression of memory and emotion in the training is not isolated as an intervention, but instead, embedded within a larger context of learning about human rights and social change. It leads to practical changes that make a difference in the lives of participants. Bernbaum found that a number of the women who participated in the training reported that they now did not permit their husbands to beat them. Like the woman quoted above, several women said that they had learned not to beat their children and treat them as equals. They no longer believed that physical punishment of children was appropriate. In this respect, the IPEDEHP training had a direct impact on reducing levels of violence in children's lives.

Community and Organizational Impact

Based on her conversations with participants' family members and others in their communities, Bernbaum gathered additional impressions about the community-level impact of the training. Those included:

- People are more conscious of their rights.
- People know where they can go to be assisted when their rights are violated.
- More women are defending their rights.
- There are fewer cases of violence against women.
- People develop the ability, with success, to confront local authorities that were violating their rights.
- People establish good relations with local authorities, increasing possibilities for cooperation in people's defense when there are rights violations.

In organizational terms, IPEDEHP is noteworthy for its commitment to partnership and to sharing all materials with allied organizations. Bernbaum quotes one of IPEDEHP's founders:

The expression of memory and emotion in the training is not isolated as an intervention, but instead, embedded within a larger context of learning about human rights and social change.

We have always linked up with others at the local level. We give and we receive, parting from the reality and the needs of the situation we are in. We work in coordination with local institutions. We never work alone. Our interest is not in strengthening ourselves. Instead we strive to strengthen local groups and social movements (1999, p. 21).

Strengthening Networks of Protection

Building networks among local human rights groups and national offices, IPEDEHP contributes to the formation of social capital in Peru. Social capital refers here to the networks of relationships and norms of reciprocity that undergird collective action (Putnam, 1993). The human rights training builds organizational and personal connections, especially among participants from diverse social backgrounds. In doing so, the training weaves together the fabric of civil society, the fabric that supports lasting peace and the protection of human rights. This is especially important after large-scale hostilities have ended and local abuses of human rights such as discrimination and domestic violence continue underneath the patina of a return to normalcy.

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According to Bernbaum, the following characteristics make the IPEDEHP training methodology particularly appropriate to be used in societies that have gone through or are experiencing violence. The course:

- Provides a comprehensive program of education and action that touches on the meaning of life of a number of the participants, integrating basic values (dignity, respect, equality, self-esteem) within the context of their daily lives
- Promotes the expression and development of the affective
- Offers participants a safe space in which they are encouraged to remember and speak of the impact of earlier periods of violence on them, their families, and their communities
- Builds networks of friendship, trust and commitment among a diverse group of individuals

The "Know Your Rights" training conducted by IPEDEHP is a powerful means of rebuilding a positive environment for learning. Although the program model might not be directly applicable in many contexts in which damage to civil institutions is more severe than in Peru, the core principles could be adapted for use in any post-conflict phase.

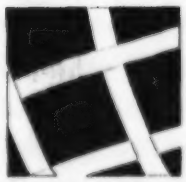
Opportunities and Limitations

The IPEDEHP approach could be integrated with other human rights and peace education initiatives in a comprehensive social reconstruction effort. The program content could be adapted to focus on children's rights and the role of education in protecting those rights. Such an agenda can counteract ideologies that promote violence. As noted earlier,

IPEDEHP started its work with a focus on teachers, as discussed with regard to Project DiaCom in Bosnia, teachers can have a strong influence on the character of schools and communities following social conflict. Bernbaum notes that, at a meeting of teachers previously trained in the methodology, they discussed their recent activities, which included organizing a workshop in classroom conflict and a children's rights week, as well as radio programs and festivals. Clearly, the kind of training program modeled by IPEDEHP can be a powerful catalyst for change in the ecology of learning.

Of course, IPEDEHP also faces several challenges. Among those challenges, Bernbaum points out, is a dependency on external funding. That funding is often given for a limited duration, causing frustration about the possibility of long-term continuity in the work. Funding constraints also limit the organization's capacity to provide additional materials and resources in support of trainees' efforts to share their experiences with others and take action in their communities. Trainees must find their own sources of support for their efforts.

However, the motivation to continue promoting human rights is strong. In recent follow-up interviews with 18 former participants in the program, Bernbaum found that they remained active in human rights work more than three years after her initial study. The respondents also said they would continue their involvement, regardless of future external support, since they had internalized the commitment to human rights (personal communication, January 2002).



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Questions for Use

In your context:

- What are the most prevalent, and most invisible, forms of human rights violations?

- What elements of IPEDEHP training might be adapted for local circumstances?

- Who should be involved in developing and coordinating human rights training?

- How could people from diverse social positions be brought together to discuss human rights?

- How could human rights training be integrated with other educational initiatives?

- What interests might be threatened by human rights training?

In your context, how could human rights training satisfy basic psychological needs—for children, families, and the community?

NEED	Children	Families	Community
Security			
Effectiveness			
Positive Identity			
Positive Connection			
Comprehension of Reality			

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CONCLUSION:
Learning to Outgrow War

The cases and concepts discussed in this guidebook can be useful for thinking about the range of possibilities available for designing projects to help children outgrow war. Developing specific design parameters, however, requires nuanced understanding of the context. Indeed, building a positive environment for learning in post-conflict settings is a complex and thorny challenge.

As suggested earlier, the very term "post-conflict" simplifies the extreme complexity found on the ground. Conflicts and crises have multiple phases and transition points, often overlapping, with conflicts of varying stages, scopes, and intensities occurring in different places simultaneously. Consequently, we believe it is critical for project designers to think carefully about the nature of the situation, in terms of phases and transitions, from multiple vantage points.

As armed conflict ends and emergency gives way to recovery, what old struggles will continue, and what new struggles will emerge? What struggles will a primary school teacher face, bearing the weight of the violence he has witnessed and trying to help traumatized children learn in the shell of a broken school? What struggles will a girl returning home from the unwanted work of serving in a rebel army face, as she copes with intrusive memories and social stigma? What new struggles will a local NGO worker face, challenged with rebuilding civil society from the rubble of mistrust, anger, and collapsed infrastructure?

Yet what strengths do all of these people possess? What are the deep sources of resilience that carried them through the crisis? How can interventions respect their strength and enable communities—and children themselves—to act as the primary agents of educational reconstruction?

How can interventions respect their strength and enable communities—and children themselves—to act as the primary agents of educational reconstruction?

As a general guide for project design thinking, we suggest it is useful to consider how a project can enable the constructive satisfaction of basic psychological needs for various groups on multiple ecological layers. Although the basic needs and ecological frameworks prescribed here are rarely explicit in post-conflict programming, we believe they can be useful for analyzing and creating interventions that improve children's well-being and learning. The frameworks offered here, as discussed in the case studies, can complement more familiar rights-based approaches and economic reconstruction as a basis for durable peace.

Recent reports on post-conflict educational reconstruction call for greater attention to evaluation and research. Not enough is known yet about how well various interventions work or why. A critical need in the coming years is for greater investment in evaluation, preferably of the sort that involves children and local communities themselves in design

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and analysis. More qualitative inquiry into the lived experience of children and teachers in crises and recovery periods is badly needed.

As the knowledge base in post-conflict educational reconstruction grows, it is important to refine guidelines and strengthen standards for practice. Given the complexity of post-conflict situations, however, guidelines are unlikely to provide simple formulas for effective project design. They may even have the unintended consequence of obscuring dialogue with communities about their own aspirations for educational reconstruction and their own resources for learning. Agencies should be cautious not to replace uncertainty about what to do with a kind of expertise that precludes innovation and dialogue.

Perhaps post-conflict educational reconstruction is best understood as a series of interlocking challenges. We suggest that the key challenges for regenerating a viable environment for children's learning and well-being are these:

- Nurturing opportunities for change while satisfying needs for stability, security, and the familiar
- Supplying learning resources without neglecting learners' own capacities for reflection and creation
- Giving away ownership of project development to children and communities
- Creating spaces for people divided by conflict to talk, play, and learn together
- Safeguarding patience with processes of personal healing and community reconstruction that do not operate according to institutional timelines

Looking to the projects profiled here, some tentative responses to these challenges emerge. These projects have many elements in common, including activities that enable participants to gain greater understanding of local social conditions and facilitate the development of practical skills. Several of the projects involve experiential learning in democratic, collaborative behaviors. Acknowledging the violence and loss participants have endured is also critical, with activities that invite creative expression and relationship building, across generations and identity groups, informed by culturally familiar methods of healing.

Many of the cases highlighted in this collection involve simple human activity, especially playing and talking. After all, these are the very activities threatened by traumatic experience. Painful experiences tend to force people inward, separating them from others. But play, dialogue, and collaborative action can help people to turn back outward, gently, and reconnect with others. Working together toward common goals is a powerful means of overcoming devaluation of and hostility toward another group. Enabling people to talk and play together again is a central task of rebuilding a constructive environment for learning.

How play spreads peace at the Butterfly Garden

After a couple of months in the garden barriers begin to crumble and the day eventually dawns when the children are composing songs and music of their own, creating stories together on Mud Mountain, and performing their own nonsensical theater sketches based on common experiences shared in the garden. They break bread together at noon and play non-competitive, gender-mixed games after lunch. At the end of the day, there is a closing assembly in which they display or perform the works of their day's creation. Some of the artwork they make is given back to the garden for exhibition in the Butterfly Gallery or for use as props in the theater, but for the most part, the children take their creations home—small seeds of peace scattered among the war desecrated villages where they live.

(Paul Hogan quoted in Chase, 2000b, p. 45)

The commonalities of these projects also speak to some degree of the limitations of traditional schooling as a vehicle for social reconstruction. Schooling is not typically oriented toward creative play or reflective dialogue, and children are rarely treated as partners in decision-making. School is a space owned and operated by adults. Schooling often replicates structures of authority and messages about the value of particular social groups that underlie more obvious forms of violence. Schooling per se does not necessarily lead to greater compassion and tolerance—after all, how many war leaders and dictators have been well-schooled, even in elite institutions?

As noted earlier, however, the existence of functional schooling and the presence of capable teachers can be a powerful source of security for families and a beacon of hope for their communities. In many emergency situations, one of the first activities that communities undertake is the reestablishment of schools for their children. Functional places of learning provide children with opportunities to gain the skills necessary for competent participation in the reconstruction of economic and civil life.

This tension between the desire for schooling and the limitations of schooling suggests the importance of innovative, integrative strategies that surround the reconstruction of formal education with less formal programs for parents, teachers, and other community members. Such strategies would combine healing, skill-building, peacebuilding, and community development agendas in gender and culturally sensitive manners. Such strategies would be grounded in dialogue to begin the process of building new confidence and connection among government authorities, local leaders, youth, and families. As such approaches gain acceptance, the familiar emphasis on investment in human capital in development education is being replaced with an emphasis on investment in skills related to peace, democracy, and the strengthening of civil society (FFA Forum, 1998).

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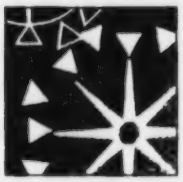


Interventions should be oriented toward transformation.

In her report on "Children as Zones of Peace," Evans (1996) offers several principles for assisting war-affected children, based on dialogue at several international meetings. We list several of these principles here to crystallize key points threaded throughout the guidebook:

- Essential relationships and primary caregivers must be supported.
- Holistic and integrated services are required to respond to children's needs.
- Learning is an enabling right and catalyst for development.
- Interventions should be oriented toward transformation.
- Community approaches are the most effective.
- When children are taking positive action, follow their lead.

Clearly, the implementation of the approach suggested in this guidebook relies on partnership among many different agencies and actors. Their work is deeply interdependent, choices at transitional moments often create the parameters for other choices over time. Care must be given to minimize practices that generate organizational territorialism and competition rather than collaboration. We suggest that the ecological and basic needs frameworks presented here can provide reference points for dialogue about the importance of collaboration and the ways in which the work of various partners effects different layers of the ecology of children's learning and well-being.

Although the importance of collaboration has received significant attention, time is an axis of post-conflict work that is not fully appreciated (Maynard, 1999). Relief in dramatic crisis situations is intended to be rapid, and relief work has a flair of heroism that garners public attention and sympathy (Vargas-Baron and McClure, 1998). Organizational responsiveness is a key asset in many circumstances, however, it may condition expectations that outcomes will also appear quickly.

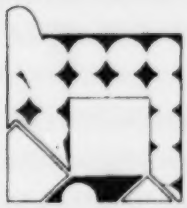
Around the world, market pressures force organizations to work more quickly and show results faster than ever before. In educational reconstruction, that pressure may manifest itself in an emphasis on quick results that are easily counted: the number of rapid education kits deployed, the number of schools rebuilt, the number of teacher recruits trained, etc. Such numbers may satisfy institutional demands for accountability. And they do represent concrete achievements, especially with regard to large-scale responses in complex emergencies. Yet they may undermine the deeper dynamics of reconstruction by pushing too hard and too quickly for measurable results at the expense of processes that run on a slower clock.

Violence occurs quickly, at the slash of a machete or the twitch of a trigger finger. Healing and dialogue, on the other hand, are slow work. Authentic participation is slow work, especially with children. Rebuilding a sense of confidence and trust in others is slow work. Engagement with overwhelming memory is slow work. Helping children outgrow war must go gently; day rises slowly from night.

By meeting basic psychological needs and working on multiple ecological levels, projects can do much to improve the conditions for constructive learning and the general sense of well-being in communities recovering from the damage of violence.

Good post-conflict education projects also help build lasting peace. Political insights from several of the cases suggest the strategic value of focusing on improving children's welfare as an entry point into the larger agenda of peacebuilding. Taking small steps to involve children in project work, to create spaces "owned" by children, to connect children and families across lines of division—all of this supports more visible state-level peacebuilding efforts in subtle and important ways.

In the broadest ecological sense, the work of educational reconstruction is also the work of building a just and peaceful world. Post-conflict educators are allies with all who work to bring that world into being.



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APPENDIX

Education in Crisis: Development Sequence and Transitions[1]

The following list is a work in progress that attempts to convey the need to include educators in the technical, operational and political decisions that take place during transitions from an educational emergency to rehabilitation and reconstruction of educational systems. The development sequence, in reality, may not be as clear as portrayed. The most important transitions are those that result in no government, internationally recognized interim and official governments.

1. No Government and Education Emergencies

Goal: Ensure children learn enabling skills.

Country Context:

- Conflict and displacement of population destroy cultural norms, government systems (including education), currency, and economic systems.
- Educated people and professionals flee the country.
- Currency collapses; black-market and barter drive the economy.

Education Markers:

- Neutral course content, language and math emphasized.
- Recreation is a component whether in camps or temporary settlements.
- NGO/UN or teachers and curriculum often uncoordinated.
- NGO/AID organization runs education projects, provides supplies.
- Curriculum is often different from project to project and can be uncoordinated.
- Teachers are generally unpaid volunteers from the former system or from the community; they may receive food or commodities from parents or NGOs.
- Education supplies are usually furnished by parents; teaching materials are rudimentary.
- Food is often provided to students in schools or classes as needed.
- Counseling for psychological trauma comprises part of most programs.
- Classes are held in homes, churches, or makeshift buildings.

Transition from Education Emergency to Recovery

Country Context:

- Peace talks begin and make progress.
- Demobilization and repatriation planned.
- Emergency money peaks; donors begin raising money for recovery.
- Realignment of allies, trade and financial support for an emerging government.

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[1] Adapted from a chart prepared by Anne Dykstra (personal communication, November 1, 2001).

Education Markers:

- A former government or colonial power may sponsor the education system. Or another country may impose education criteria.
- Future language of instruction is decided.
- Population projections of students and teachers are ongoing for fund raising.
- Former teachers are identified.
- School organization is decided. Future elements of a new curriculum and standards are set.
- Lead education agencies are identified.
- Donor coordination is attempted.
- School feeding continues and expands.

2. Interim Government and Recovery

Goal: Government establishment of education as a visible return to normalcy.

Country Context:

- Repatriation and demobilization begins.
- Massive increase in the need for social services.
- Pockets of fighting and displaced people exist.
- An interim government runs the country, with or without peacekeepers.
- Inflation continues but at a slower rate; the official currency returns.

Education Markers:

- Push by government to build and repair education infrastructure.
- Emergency teacher training.
- Enrollment schemes announced.
- Interim ministry of education (MOE) formed with small budget.
- Establishment of limited school calendar.
- Recovery of old school records, former curriculum, syllabus and textbooks is attempted.
- Temporary curriculum and syllabus are written.
- Emergency education supplies are donated, with variable distribution.
- An urgent need for data.
- Donor coordination by MOE is sporadic.
- Donors, NGOs, and government agree on community participation and some decentralization on a limited basis.
- Few links exist between central education authorities and technicians with rural schools.
- School feeding declines.

Transition from Recovery to Rehabilitation

Country Context:

- Elections are planned and implemented; candidates often come from remaining educators.
- Pre-election fighting disrupts education; teachers may be used as polling officials.
- The new government is officially recognized by world leaders.
- Repatriation and demobilization peak; displaced population begin to return or settle in new villages.

- Fighting diminishes but there are still pockets of conflict in the country.
- Inflation is high, official currency circulates, black market continues and includes supplies meant for education.

Education Markers:

- Education officials are appointed by the interim government, some may come from the military, political parties, or from the former education ministry.
- Teacher training schedule, content, and qualifications are formalized.
- Recruitment for teachers starts, decisions about including repatriated educators made.
- Construction or repair of schools is often politically determined.
- NGO registration and rules regarding presence in-country are formalized.
- Interim government calls for a new curriculum and textbooks, plans are developed, and costs projected.
- Bank and donor missions arrive. Donor competition increases. NGOs begin revision of projects anticipating either consolidation of technical focus and geographical positioning.
- Banks sponsor sector analysis. "Best" statistics are compiled.
- Budget forecasts are made, donor round-tables begin to raise money for rehabilitation.
- Interim MOE drafts 5–10 year education plan.
- Some professional educators return to the country.

3. New Government and Rehabilitation

Goal: Organization of functioning ministry of education at all levels that can administer a system of education and officially accept and disburse money on behalf of the government.

Country Context:

- New state constitution is drafted and adopted, includes definition and broad enabling language for education.
- Public Investment Plan (PIP) drafted.
- New NGOs arrive across sectors. Those present during emergency seek a defined niche and competition for recognition as "lead agency" peaks.
- UN and donor community expands, new alignment of advisors across sectors arrive.
- Expatriate community multiplies exponentially; officials struggle to deal with donor community.
- Demobilization is completed; repatriation of refugees is completed; civil war or incursion is largely finished; few displaced people remain.
- Official currency grows stronger, economy picks up, black market continues, stabilizes, or declines—and includes educational supplies furnished by the state.
- Economic speculation causes prices to rise.

Education Markers:

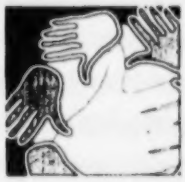
- MOE officers at various levels are designated; key officials may or may not be educators; most authority is centralized.
- State education budget adopted. Teacher pay set. Allocations fall short of budget lines.

- New curriculum is drafted for all subjects; agreement is reached on the content of history and social sciences.
- The language of instruction approved by legislators.
- School maps and projections of students, teachers, classrooms, schools are published by the state.
- Management information system may be funded; the education planning office starts to function.
- MOE policies on equity, budget, career system, and operations are approved. Education for All (EFA) goals are set.
- 5–10 year education plan detailing the gaps within the education sector, setting timed goals and setting forth budget marks for state and donor share of investment in education.
- Urban areas start split/shifts because of crowding; primary teacher shortage is severe.
- Supplies and new construction or repair of schools are often paid for by parents; old texts may be used as supplies catch up with demand.
- The language of instruction and social sciences (history) can bring volatile debate.
- Donors sponsor training for MOE staff and teachers, technical expertise remains thin.
- Attempts are made to coordinate donors and NGOs as major investments in education begin.
- Bidding and contracting for construction by MOE begins.
- Debates on investment in primary vs. secondary and university are constant.
- Donor/NGO policies on payment of stipends for work by government officials may result in open competition between agencies for technical staff and increased corruption in government.
- Some elements of decentralization and community participation in education are evaluated.

Transition from Rehabilitation to Reconstruction

Country Context:

- An internationally recognized government begins to negotiate across sectors for technical assistance, loans, and investment capital. Taxes, both formal and informal, also become sources of revenue.
- Human resources across sectors are depleted; scarce technical staff members are supplemented by foreign experts often resulting in conflicting decisions and in-fighting among the donor/NGO community.
- Inexperienced government officials, political agendas, and lack of systems cause delays in implementing programs and in disbursement of monies.
- Reconciliation and coalition government conflict can take precedence over technical work.
- Donor coordination and the payment of stipends and incentives to government officials becomes a problem; government increases attempts to regulate donor/NGO aid to all sectors.
- Speculation and corruption continue to increase at all levels.
- High inflation and quickly rising living costs cause the black market to flourish.
- Local banking and systems for official disbursement and accounting of state monies are new and unreliable.
- Pockets of conflict or danger from mines exist.



Education Markers:

- Civil service reform is planned; new qualifications for various levels of education personnel are adopted.
- Donors question data because student and/or teacher ghost-numbers are high.
- MOE plans donor coordination system and revises NGO registration and operational rules.
- Private tutoring, selling test answers, and fees for entrance/promotion/graduation charged by underpaid, unpaid teachers increases.
- New curriculum is adopted; new textbooks written and arrive in schools. Massive teacher training begins to update teachers.
- Instructional hours in primary expand to international norms; full K-6 implemented.
- Secondary instruction expanded; selection for university entrance formalized; graduation from either secondary or university is often tied to government promises of jobs.
- Quality, not just enrollment in primary school, becomes an issue.
- Testing and promotion policy is reformed and systems to implement them are put in place.
- New sector analysis; donor round-tables fund new government; loans are set in place.
- Cost per student educated increases for both the state and parents.

4. Established Government and Reconstruction

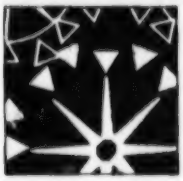
Goal: Key education systems and expertise are fully operational; classes and teachers are sufficient for all primary school children; secondary and university systems are minimally functioning.

Country Context:

- Organization of the government, including the ministry of education, is published. Functions are defined.
- Currency stabilizes, inflation decreases to predictable levels.
- National census takes place, categories of ages to be surveyed are set.
- PIP is revised.
- Local elections are planned and carried out in all sectors; programs and many decisions are donor driven.
- Economy expands fed in part by investment from the donor community in various reconstruction projects.

Education Markers:

- Civil service reform results in a fully articulated career ladder for educators at every level tied to qualifications and a salary scale.
- A 5–10 year plan for education is approved and targets for education in the state budget are set.
- Key policies are written, approved, and published i.e. ministry organization, language policy, testing, and promotion policy.
- Education statistics are updated and published regularly according to international definitions.
- Teacher training reform begins.



- Supervisory system is expanded.
- While government emphasis is still on infrastructure, loans for education quality improvement are expanded.
- Distribution system is improved country-wide.
- Decentralization and community participation are institutionalized.
- Secondary and university levels receive further finance to expand form donors and government.
- Technical training for MOE staff at all levels expands; technical work improves on return of staff.
- Education targets are tied to economic growth and education is widely viewed as the system upgrading the future labor force.

Transition to Fully Functioning Education System

Country Context:

- Overall increase in institutionalized good governance.
- Decentralization reaches local levels consistently.
- Donors cite the need for control of corruption.
- Off shore purchasing of educational services are competitively bid; contract procedures in-country are made more transparent.
- Local banking and money distribution becomes safer and more widespread and reliable.
- Elections have taken place and relative stability has remained in place for the education system.
- Overall demand for social services by people has increased and is met by government officials at the appropriate level.

Education Markers:

- State financing of education is adequate relative to the state budget.
- Political will to improve equitable, quality education is apparent.
- Regular educational calendar is in place, curriculum cycle is in place, and state-driven systematic quality reforms go forward.
- Teacher training, both inservice and preservice, steadily increases the quality of classroom instruction.
- Learning achievement is measured to published criteria; the system of testing and promotion is generally seen as fair.
- Expansion of access for secondary and university are issues of equity.
- Reaching international norms such as EFA and accreditation become part of planning.
- The rate of allocation and receipt of state budget more closely matches targets in the national budget.
- Demand for education is understood and educational systems can provide schooling in a predictable, equitable, and transparent fashion most of the time.
- Cost to parents for education decreases and stabilizes.
- Teachers are paid on time as a rule.
- Quality, as measured by learning achievement, is reasonable and increasing.

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Violent civil conflict has become tragically common in recent years. Children are the most vulnerable population affected: They are the first victims of physical, social, and emotional violence.

Helping children outgrow war is an overarching goal of educational reconstruction in post-conflict settings. Given the diversity and complexity of such settings, responses must be both highly adaptive and informed by insights gained from interventions elsewhere. This guidebook offers several examples of successful interventions in post-conflict settings internationally, situating them within a framework that emphasizes the ecology of children's well-being and learning.

Helping children outgrow war involves helping communities heal from violence and determine their own paths of development. Successful interventions can enable teachers, parents, and community leaders to engage safely with traumatic events, to articulate their aspirations, and to build trust across multiple levels of society as the infrastructure of a culture of peace.

The challenge of post-conflict educational reconstruction, in this sense, is larger and more diffuse than rebuilding the shattered infrastructure of schooling. This guidebook is not intended to address the complex technical, financial, and political issues involved in rebuilding school systems. While it touches on those issues, it is concerned more broadly with creating conditions for constructive learning in the wake of social violence.

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